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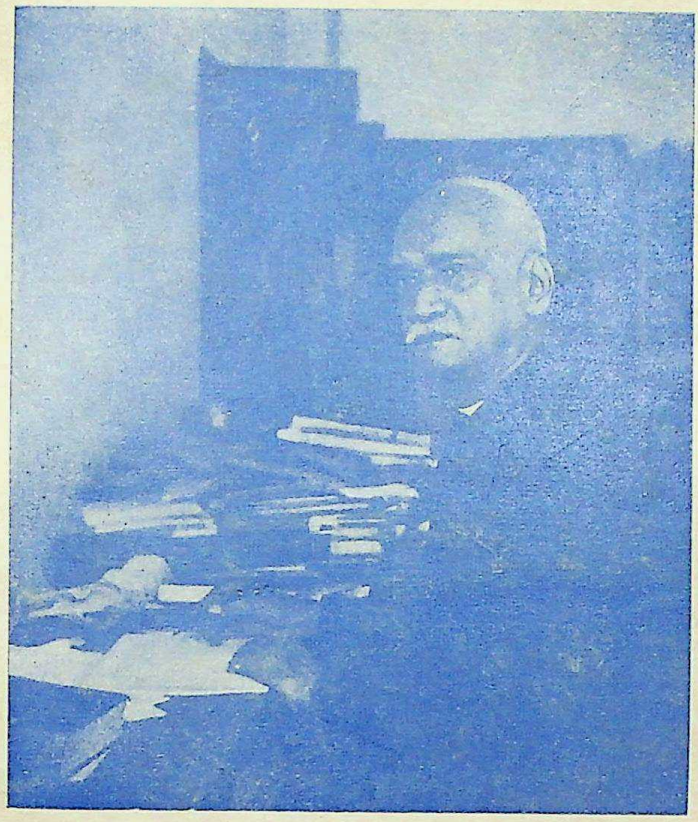

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SIR JADUNATH SARKAR
COMMEMORATION VOLUME

II

Essays Presented to Sir Jadunath Sarkar

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We can expect the future production of literary gems only in the writer's mother tongue.

A language can grow only if it produces a literature, and a literature ceases to live when it ceases to produce original works of high artistic merit, which touch the heart or fire the imagination.

JADUNATH SARKAR
17.1.53.

If Sanskrit ceases to be a living study in India, then India will have lost her soul.

JADUNATH SARKAR
23.8.53.

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II

ESSAYS
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[The senior most among the present-day historians of India, an honorary D. Litt , a C. I. E. and a Knight, a Campbell Gold Medalist of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay and an Honorary Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bombay and the only Asian historian to have the unique distinction of being an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, a Corresponding Member of the Royal Historical Society of England and an Honorary Member of the American Historical Association of Washington.]

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The Syndicate of the Panjab University (vide its Proceedings, dated August 25, 1957) has agreed that out of the sale proceeds of Sir Jadunath Sarkar Commemoration Volumes, a fund be constituted to endow a periodical course of extension lectures on different aspects of Indian history to be delivered by distinguished scholars chosen from India or abroad, and that the extension lectures should be such as could be subsequently published.

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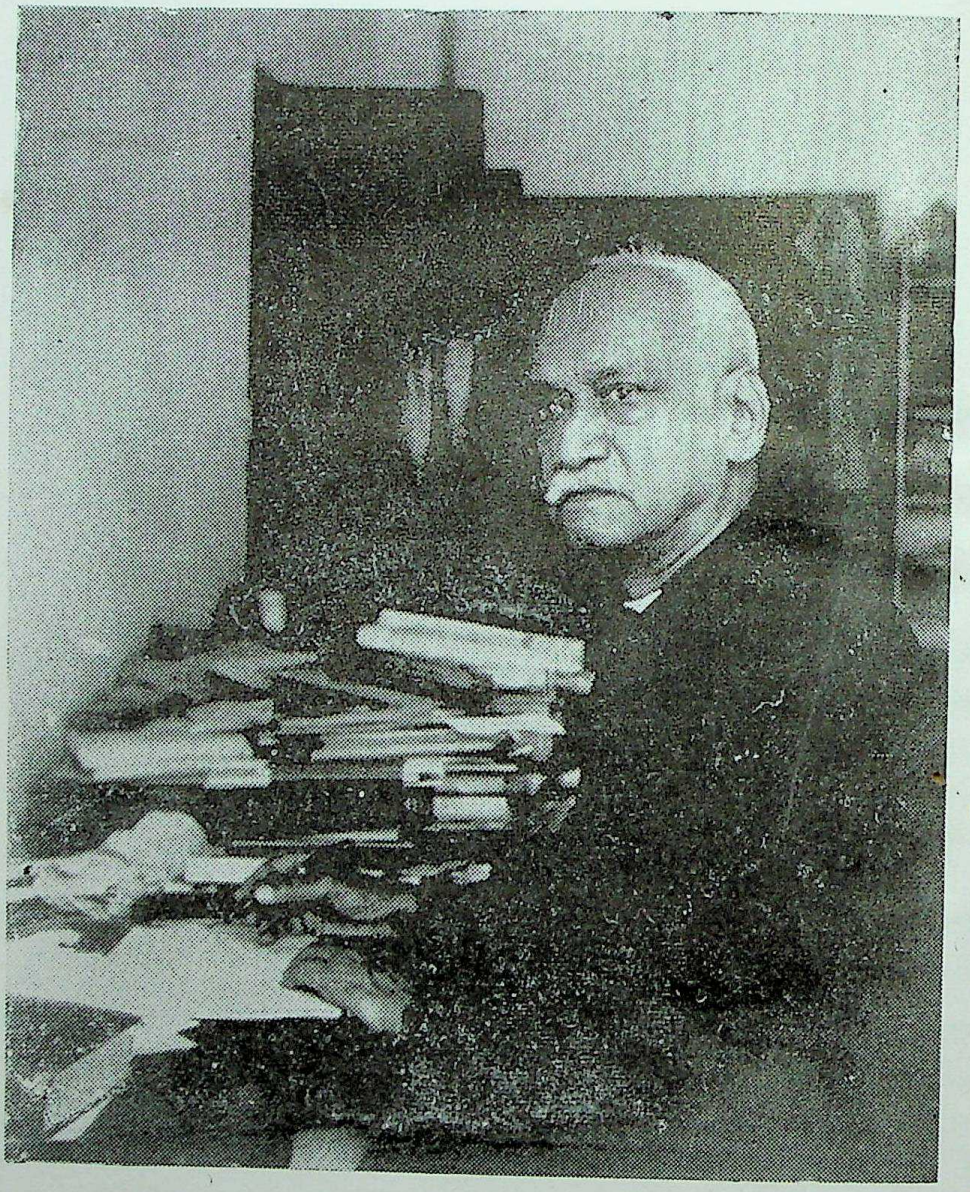

Jadunath Sarkar, 1954.

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Message of Sir Jadunath Sarkar to Indian Historians

TIME has now brought me to the brink of the great Ocean of Eternity, and as I look back I take the opportunity of this book to bid farewell to my friends and pupils with gratitude for the love and kindness with which they have enriched an unusually long life.

My message to my pupils and my pupils' pupils is one of hope. I bid them be of good cheer, because the opportunities for carrying on scientific research in Indian history on the Indian soil are now unimaginably great, and the right atmosphere for this type of work has also been created around us. When I first set my hand to the plough in 1891, research (except in Sanskrit) meant only the pirating or translation of modern English or French books, and we had no other resources.

But today no genuine worker on Indian history is content unless he has mastered the language of the *original* authorities and can utilise the original records, despatches, state papers and inscriptions, which are the primary indispensable sources.

In addition to the collections of the necessary materials in our older University libraries and Record Offices, a very rich library of sources has been created at Sitamau (Malwa) by its enlightened prince, Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghuvir Sinh, D. Litt., LL.B., where mediaeval and modern Indian History is fully represented in the form of mss., books, and micro-films of the treasures of the British Museum and the I. O. Library (London), besides costly reference works. Scholars can freely use them.

Work in the right way, for the means are ready to hand, and the reward sure.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

10 LAKE TERRACE,
CALCUTTA 29,
20th April, 1957.

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Preface

The presentation of a commemoration volume is the recognised form of the tribute, which scholars pursuing a particular line of study pay to one who has attained eminence in that line and by means of which they seek inspiration for themselves. In the present volume historians and researchers have combined to pay their homage to one who, for more than half a century now, has been resuscitating India's past with a rare singleness of purpose and devotion to great ideals.

Acharya Jadunath Sarkar has become a great institution. He is not only the greatest historian of the country who has been laying bare the India of the time of the Mughals in a series of monumental works, but has also, at the same time, taught in his inimitable way two generations of students and guided and trained a very large number of scholars in historical research. With brilliant natural parts and a penetrating insight capable of tracing causal sequence in apparently disconnected events, matched by great command over expression and unremitting industry, the savant has been analysing and interpreting India's past as only a few have been able to do either in the past or in present times. His achievement in the sphere has been great and his labours staggeringly immense. In the ardent cultivation of historical research he has been leading the life of a recluse scorning delights and living laborious days and, unaffected alike by the favours and frowns of fortune, he has been living up to the exhortation of the seers of yore—स्वाध्यायान्मा प्रमदः, स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः (neglect not studies, pursue knowledge).

It was nearly four years ago that the idea of preparing this and the companion first volume was first conceived. The Panjab University under the stewardship of Dewan Anand Kumar, its Vice-Chancellor at the time, kindly undertook to bear the cost. Scholars of history from all over the country as well as from abroad including East Pakistan responded magnificently to the appeal for contributions, which kept pouring in for more than two years. Each article had to be examined thoroughly before its suitability for inclusion could be determined and some had to be returned to their authors for revision. The editors have tried to keep before them the high and exacting standards of scholarship which the presentee has bee n maintaining all along.

The articles published number thirty-eight as against nearly twice that number received. Considerations of space and of expense have militated against the publication of the rest, many of which are of

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considerable merit, and the editors tender their sincerest apologies to their authors.

As is inevitable in a publication of this nature, the contributions are as diverse as their authors and deal with a very large variety of subjects. They are all excellent pieces of research and in a large number of cases either break entirely fresh ground or throw welcome light on obscure corners of the history of our land. A few of them happen to be of a general character merely, but since their authors are foreigners, the hospitality of these pages has per force had to be extended to them. Among those whose contributions have found a place in these pages are well-known scholars such as Padma Bhushan Nilakanta Sastri, Bimala Churn Law, U. N. Ghoshal and the late Rev. H. Heras.

The editors have given a brief summary of each article at the outset acquainting the reader with its contents and tenor. In order to maintain the individuality of each contribution, they have retained the spellings of Sanskrit, Prākrit, Pāli, Persian and Arabic names and terms as given by the contributor himself or herself. They have, however, been constrained to take liberty with the text in some cases when the demands of English idiom and usage over-ruled all other considerations.

They take this opportunity to thank all their friends who have helped them in editing in one way or another.

The editors are fully conscious of the defects which, in spite of their best efforts, have crept in. They are due to the limitations imposed by the place—a second rate and out-of-the-way town—where they have been working. They crave the indulgence of the readers and particularly of the illustrious presentee.

گر قبول اُفتد زهے عز و شرف

HOSHIARPUR
8 March 1958

EDITORS

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The Origin of Sultan Shamsuddīn Firuz Shah of Bengal

By

ABDUL KARIM

(Lecturer in History, University of Dacca)

[The author by quoting from original and contemporary authorities refutes the old theory about the origin of Sultan Shamsuddin Firuzshah of Bengal propounded by Edward Thomas and held by most of the later writers on the subject that this Sultan was the grandson of Balban. He also rejects another theory put forward by A. Majid Khan that the Sultan was an adventurer, who came from Delhi during the time of Alauddin Khalji. He shows that Shamsuddin was the Secretary of Bughra Khan, the son of Balban, and later on succeeded in seizing the kingdom of Bengal —*Editor*]

The origin of Sultan Shamsuddīn Firuz Shah of Bengal[1] is lost in history. Edward Thomas, writing as early as A. D. 1867[2] and depending on the testimony of Ibn Batuta, took him to be a Balbani Sultan of Bengal. The genealogy that Thomas prepared shows that Shamsuddīn Firuz Shah was a son of Naṣiruddin Maḥmud Bughra Khan and grandson of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban.[3] This theory received general acceptance until a few years ago, when it was challenged almost simultaneously by two scholars, Mr. A. Majid Khan and Dr. K. R. Qanungo.[4] They have proved by various instances that Ibn Batuta's testimony is utterly unreliable as far as this part of the history of Bengal is concerned. Their main support is derived from the evidence of coins, *i.e.* he does not, in his coins, call himself السلطان بن السلطان بن السلطان (Sultan bin Sultan bin Sultan) or even السلطان بن السلطان (Sultan bin Sultan), as it was then the established practice.[5] They have come to the conclusion that Shamsuddin Firuz Shah

---

1. He was the Sultan of Bengal from 701/A. D. 1301 to 722/A. D. 1322.

2. Thomas: Initial Coinage of Bengal, part 1, in *Journal of The Asiatic Society of Bengal* hereafter referred to as J. A. S. B.) 1867, vol. XXXVI, No. 1.

3. Ibid.

4 A. Majid Khan in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XVIII, 1942, p. 65 ff. ; K. R. Qanungo in *History of Bengal*, vol. II, ed. by J. N. Sarkar, pub. by Dacca University, 1948, p. 93-94.

5. While Ruknuddin Kaikaus and Shamsuddin Firuz Shah's children designated themselves in their coins, Sultan bin Sultan bin Sultan or Sultan bin Sultan, as the case might be, Shamsuddin Firuz Shah calls himself only as Sultan. (For his titles on coins vide. Thomas, Initial Coinage of Bengal in J. A. S. B., 1867, vol. XXXV, part 1, No. 1, p. 45 ; H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. II, p. 147 ; A. W. Botham, *Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet, Assam*, second edition, 1930, p. 134-38.

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did not belong to the Balbani family, but, on the other hand, was a usurper, who captured the throne of Lakhnauti after Sultan Ruknuddin Kaikaus. So far it is good. But the question arises who was this Shamsuddin Firuz, who suddenly rose to power and usurped the throne? Dr. Qanungo conjectures that he was one of the two Firuz-es, who, according to Isami[1], were left behind in Bengal by Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban in the service[2] of Bughra Khan. Mr. A. Majid Khan[3] stretches his imagination further and conjectures that "this Shamsuddin accompanied Zafar Khan with his sons, when the latter was sent by Alauddin to Oudh to collect boats for the passage of Saraju river for his proposed march into Bengal and that Shamsuddin stayed back with his sons when Zafar Khan returned to Alauddin." He is also of the opinion that Shamsuddin was an adventurer, who came to Bengal to seek his fortune, and that he was quite free to do so without being noticed by Dehli due to the political crisis there after the murder of Jalaluddin Firuz Khalji.[4] The ingenuity of this latter view is praise-worthy, but its validity will be discussed later. But whatever that may be, while the conjecture of Dr. Qanungo has got some weight, that of Mr. Khan leads us nowhere.

One has to proceed very carefully with three basic facts in one's mind. First, in the Sylhet inscription[5] now preserved in the Dacca Museum, Shamsuddin Firuz Shah is called دلوی ; H. E. Stapleton[6] takes it for دهلوی (Dehlavi). This suggests that Shamusddin Firuz came to Bengal from Delhi either with the conquering horde or in some other capacity e.g. on accepting office under the Bengal Sultans. Secondly, during the time he captured the throne of Lakhnauti, he must have been a fairly aged man with six grown-up children, who took active part in the administration of the country.[7] Thirdly, he must have been occupying

---

1. *History of Bengal*, vol. 2, Dacca University, 1948, p. 93.
2. Isami, *Fatuh-us-salatin*, ed. by Agha Mahdi Husain, Agra, 1938, p. 166.
3. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XVIII, 1942, p. 70.
4. Ibid.
5. J. A. S. B. 1922, plate IX.
6. H. E. Stapleton in J. A. S. B. 1922, p. 413-14.
7. Three of his children, Jalaluddin Maḥmud, Shihabuddin Bughdah Shah, and Ghiyasuddin Bahadur issued coins with full regal titles in the life time of their father. (For their coins see Thomas, Initial Coinage of Bengal in J A. S B. 1867, part 1, No. 1, p. 45; H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. XI, p. 148; Botham, *Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet*, Assam, p. 139; Botham and Friel, Supplement to above, p. 106-8; H. E. Stapleton in J. A. S. B. 1922, p. 418.) From inscriptions and literary sources we know that he had three more sons. Hatim Khan was the Governor of Bihar, during

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an important position in Bengal, because it would not have been possible for a plebian or for an invader without sufficient strength to effect a dynastic revolution in a kingdom, which rested on a solid foundation under Sultan Ruknuddin Kaikaus. The western frontier of the kingdom, the vulnerable point through which an invader from Delhi might have entered Lakhnauti, was guarded under the governorship of an able officer, Firuz, who took the lofty title of الخان الاعظم خاقان المعظم اختيار الحق والدين خان خان الشرق و العين سكندر الثانى فيروز ايتگين (the great Khan, the exalted Khaqan, Ikhtiyar al-Haq wa al-Din, the Khan of the Khans of the East and China, the second Alexander Firuz Aitigin).[1] To strengthen him further, one Ziyauddin Ulugh Khan was appointed the Deputy Governor.[2] This shows that the Sultan (Kaikaus) was conscious of the problems he confronted and was not indifferent towards the dynastic revolution in Delhi after the murder of his elder brother, Kaiqobad. In the northern part of the kingdom another able officer, Zafar Khan Bahram Aitigin, was appointed governor and he also took the lofty title of خسرو زمان شهاب الحق والدين سكندر الثانى الغ اعظم همايون ظفر خان بهرام ايتگين (Lord of his time, Shihab al-Haq wa al-Din, the second Alexander, the great, the exalted, the auspicious Zafar Khan Bahram Aitigin).[3] Moreover, during the same period the kingdom of Lakhnauti began its extension in two directions, towards the east by the conquest of Bang and towards the south by the conquest of Satagaon or Triveni area.[4]

On this third ground Mr. A. Majid Khan's conjecture that Shamsuddin Firuz may be identified with "Shamsuddin, who accompanied

---

the life time of his father, who issued two inscriptions. (See J. A. S. B. 1873. p. 249.) According to Ibn Batuta, he had one son named Qatlu Khan, who was, according to the same author, killed by Ghiyasuddin Bahadur along with his other brothers in his attempt to occupy the throne after the death of their father. (Vide *Voyages D'Ibn Batoutah,ed.* and tr. into French by Defre'mery and Sanguinetti, Paris, 1922, vol. III, p. 210.) His next, probably the youngest, son, Nasirundin Ibrahim, waited upon Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, when the latter invaded Lakhnauti. (Vide. Ziyauddin Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, (text) Bibliotheca Indica, p. 450-1.)

1. Lakhiserai inscription of Sultan Ruknuddin Kaikans. (See *Epigraphia Indo-moslemica*, 1917-18, plate XV (a), p. 11.)

2. Ibid.

3. Gangarampur inscription of Sultan Ruknundin Kaikans. (Vide *Epigraphia Indo-moslemica*, 1917-18, plate XV (b), p. 11-12).

4. H.E. Stapleton in J.A.S.B. 1922, p. 410, records a coin of Sultan Ruknuddin Kaikaus issued from the Kharaj (land-tax) of Bang, which shows that the conquest of Bang was begun, if not finished, in his reign. The conquest of Satgaon or Triveni area bagan during the same time. (Vide Triveni inscription in *Epigraphia Indo-moslemica*, 1917-18, p. 13.)

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Zafar Khan, when the latter was sent by Alauddin to Oudh to collect boats for the passage of Saraju for his proposed march into Bengal" and that he "came as an adventurer to seek his fortune in Bengal"[1] is unacceptable. In the first place, strong frontier guards and conquests on two frontiers, Bang and Satgaon, as we have seen earlier, suggest that Bengal did not offer an easy prey to a fortune-hunter like Shamsuddin, as Mr. Khan conjectures him to be. Secondly, he could not have been commissioned by Alauddin Khalji, who was busy setting his own house in order in the political crisis that ensued after the murder of his uncle, Jalaluddin Firuz Khalji. The only expedition that Alauddin sent against Bengal was in the year A. D. 1302-3, when Shamsuddin Firuz had already been on the throne for about two years. The expedition met with complete failure.[2] Thirdly—and this is more important—we fail to understand how and wherefrom could Mr. Khan pick up this Shamsuddin, although Ziyauddin Barani, the authority quoted by him, does not refer to any Shamsuddin.

With the three above-mentioned basic facts in mind, let us examine the contemporary historical materials and see how far they offer a solution. In the kingdom of Lakhnauti since Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban's invasion one Shamsuddin is found to play a prominent part. From the preface of Ghurrat-ul-kamal,[3] we know that Amir Khusraw, Shamsuddīn Dabir and Qazi Asir were present in Lakhnauti, when Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban came to Bengal to chastise the rebellious Mughisuddin Tughral. After the suppression of the rebellion, while the former *i.e.* Amir Khusraw returned to Dehli, the latter two *i.e.* Shamsuddin Dabir and Qazi Asir remained in Lakhnauti. The following account of Ziyaudin Barani[4] throws further light on the subject :—

و آن روز که دویم روز بعزا خان راوداع خواهد شد سلطان بلبن را مقام شد و بعد
گزاردن نماز اشراق بهیچ کاری مشغول نشد و در مجلس خلوت چند امراء پیر سالخورده را
پیش خود طلبید و بغراخان راگفت که شمس دبیر خود را بادوات و قلم و کاغذ پیش من
بیار تا چند پندی در باب تواز و بنویسانم چون بغراخان شمس دبیر را در پیش سلطان
آورد سلطان فرمود تا بغراخان و شمس دبیر پیش سلطان بنشتند سلطان روی سوی حاضران
کرد و گفت من میدانم که هر پندی که در کار جهانداری این پسررا خواهم داد او از
غلبهٔ هوا و نفس پرستی گوش جانب پندهای من نخواهد داشت و بدان کار نخواهد کرد

1. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XVIII, 1942, p. 70.
2. K. S. Lal : History of the Khaljis, Allahbad, 1950, p. 96.
3. Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh (text) vol I, Bibliotheca Indica, p. 154.
4. Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi. (text), Bibliotheca Indica, p 95.

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و لیکن شفقت پدری مرا بران می آرد که بحضور شما پیران که بسیار واقع دیده اید و صاحب تجربه شده چند پند در باب این پسری نویسانم باشد که خدای عز و جل او را توفیق دهد که برپند من کار کند-

"One day before Bughra Khan was to take leave, the Sultan halted; after saying the morning prayer, he engaged himself in no work, but summoned several of his old Amirs to his presence. He asked Bughra Khan, "Bring Shams, your secretary, to my presence with pen and paper, so that I make him write a few pieces of advise to you." When Bughra Khan brought Shams Dabir before the Sultan, the latter ordered both Bughra Khan and Shams Dabir to sit before him. The Sultan addressed those present and said, "Whatever advice I give to my son in connection with the principles of government, he will not pay heed to them and will not act accordingly due to his devotion to pleasure. But my paternal affection goads me to write down some counsels for him, in the presence of you, who are old, who have seen much and who have great experience. May be, God gives him power to act upon my advice."

From this account of Barani it is clear that one Shamsuddin was the Dabir or Secretary of Bughra Khan[1] and was one of those old persons, in whose presence Balban related the principles of government (کارجانداری) to his son, Bughra Khan, and that he wrote down the principles with his own hand. Shamsuddin Dabir again figured prominently, when the forces of Bengal and Dehli met face to face on both sides of the river Saraju. He carried a message from the father to the son, from Naṣiruddin Maḥmud Bughra Khan of Bengal to Muizzuddin Kaiqobad of Dehli.[2]

The above sources read together give us an idea of the part played by Shamsuddin Dabir in Bengal. He accompanied Bughra Khan or Balban from Samanah or Sanam or from Dehli. From what Balban told the Amirs at the time of giving advice to his son, "whatever advice I give to my son ... ..." it is clear that he could not rely upon Bughra Khan's conduct. So Shamsuddin Dabir's task was an onerous one; in conjunction with other Amirs he was to check Bughra Khan's devotion to pleasure. Amir Khusraw testified to his efficiency in his Qiran-us-Sádain.[3] On the

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1. According to Badaoni (see Muntakhab, vol. I, text, p. 94) Balban, at the end of his reign, appointed Shamsuddin secretary for the countries of Bangalah and Kamrud in the service of Bughra Khan, but a study of Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi (text, p. 95) gives an idea that while Balban was relating the principles of government, Shamsuddin was already a Dabir.

2 Amir Khusraw: Qiran-us-Sádain, text, ed. by Moulvi Muhammad Ismail, Aligarh, 1918, p. 102.

3. Amir Khusraw, *Qiran-us-Sádain*, text, p. 102.

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bank of the river Saraju, while Bughra Khan was looking for an efficient man to carry his message to the opponent, he found none but Shamsuddin Dabir.[1]

جست و سولے کہ گزارد پیام — ہر چہ بگویند بگوید تمام
گر سخن از صلح بود یا نبرد — کہر نکند ہیچ ز نیروے مرد
دید کہ کس نیست ز بر ناؤ پیر — در خود این کار چو شمس دبیر
پیش طلب کرد پیامے کہ خواست — سوے مخالف ز کژے کرد راست

"He (Bughra Khan) sought after a messenger, who could carry his message and say in its entirety whatever he was entrusted to say. He (the messenger) should not speak anything short of manliness, whether it be a talk of peace or of war. He (Bughra Khan) found that there was none among the young and old fit for this task except Shams Dabir. So he (Bughra Khan) called him (Shams Dabir) to his presence and gave the straightforward message to the opponent as he wanted."[2]

Isami is the only authority to record that two Firuz-es were left behind in Lakhnauti by Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban. They were enjoined to obey the prince (Bughra Khan) and to carry out his orders and to advise him in the matter of administration, if he committed any wrong.[3] From the Lakhiserai and Maheswar inscriptions[4] of the time of Sultan Ruknuddīn Kaikaus (son of Bughra Khan), we find that one Firuz Aitigin was the governor of Bihar. It is propable that one of the Firuz-es referred to by Isami may be identified with this Firuz Aitigin. This brings us to

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Isami, *Fatuh-us-salatin*, text, ed. by Agha Mahdi Hxsain, Agra, 1938, p. 166.

همان پور خود را شہ کامیاب — کہ بد خان بفرا مرا او را خطاب
دران تختگہ کرد فرمانروا — رہا کرد بروے دو فیروز را
یکے خلجی آن مرد نر خندہ راے — دگر کوہ جودی کشور کشا
بفرمود شانرا شہ نیکنام — کہ باشند بر شاہزادہ مدام
شب و روز خان را اطاعت کنند — باحکام ثابت مراعت کنند
وگر خان خطائے کند در دیار — نصیحت کنندیش دران کار و بار

"The victorious king made his son, whose title was Bughra Khan, ruler of Lakhnauti and spared for him two Firuz-es. One was Khalji, a man of sound judgment, and the other was the victor of Koh-i-Jud. The good king asked them to be always in the presence of the prince, to obey him day and night and to carry out his orders. And if the Khan (Bughra Khan) committed any mistake (in the administration of the country), they were to advise him in the matter."

4. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1917-18, plate XV (a), p. 11, *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. XXXVI, 1955, p. 166.

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a fresh problem. While one group of scholars beginning from Amir Khusraw down to Badaoni supplies the name of Shamsuddin ; who played a prominent part in the time of Bughra Khan. Isami, supported by aforesaid inscriptions, supplies the name of Firuz, who also played a prominent part in the reign of Ruknuddin Kaikaus. Both Shamsuddin and Firuz, if they were different persons at all (the question will be discussed presently), may enter into competition to be identified with Shamsuddin and Firuz Shah. Both satisfy the three basic facts, *i.e.* both may be called Dehlavi, both might have been fairly aged and both were playing a prominent part in the kingdom of Lakhnauti.

Now the question arises : which of these two persons, Shamsuddin or Firuz, did capture the throne of Bengal or whether they were one and the same person. A joint study of the two groups of authors, *i.e.* Amir Khusraw, Barani and Badaoni on the one hand and Isami on the other, gives a satisfactory answer to this question. According to Isami,[1] two Firuz-es were left in Bengal by Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban and they were asked to obey the prince and to advise him in the matter of administration. Barani's description[2] reveals that Shamsuddin was entrusted with almost the same sort of duties as Firuz in Isami's description. Again, according to Isami[3] two Firuz-es were present, when Bughra Khan took the regal title after the death of his father, whereas according to Amir Khusraw and Badaoni[4] Shamsuddin always remained with Bughra Khan in Lakhnauti. Thirdly, all scholars[5] including Isami agree that there was an exchange of messengers between Bughra Khan and Kaiqobad on the bank of the river Saraju. Though no scholar except Amir Khusraw has given the name of the messenger, the qualification of the messenger as recorded by both Amir Khusraw and Isami is almost identical. We reproduce below the account of both in their own words.

Amir Khusraw[6] :—

جست رسولے کہ گزارد پیام هرچه بگویند بگوید تمام
گر سخن از صلح بود یا نبرد کہر نکند هیچ ز نیروے مرد
دید کہ کس نیست ز برناؤ پیر در خور این کار چو شمس دبیر

1. Isami, Op. cit., p. 166 (Quoted above)
2. Barani, Op cit, p. 95. (quoted above)
3. Isami, Op cit, p. 184.
4. Badaoni, Op cit, p. 94 and 154.
5. Amir Khusraw, Op cit, p. 102 ff.
   Barani, Op cit, p. 141-42.
   Isami, Op cit, p. 186 ff.
6. Amir Khusraw, Op cit, p. 102. (translation has been given earlier.)

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Isami[1] :—

وزان کس یکے مردم هوشیار طلب کردان شاه و الاتبار
بگفتش که زورقے بر نشین برد راست بر خسرو راستین

"After much thinking the great king (Bughra Khan) called in a wise man and told him to go on board and row right up to Khusraw (Kaiqobod)."

So from the beginning of Bughra Khan's governorship of Lakhnauti, both the Firuz-es were in service under him. Isami also records[2] that the two Firuz-es were present with Bughra Khan on the bank of the river Saraju at the same time and further adds that one of them was given to Kaiqobad for his service.[3] This gives us an idea about the person, who was sent by Bughra Khan to Kaiqobad; he must have been one of the Firuz-es. Thus, the information that the two groups of authorities supply with regard to Shamsuddin and Firuz shows that they had identical duties and occupied similar positions in the administration. This leads us to conclude that Shamsuddin of Amir Khusraw, Barani and Badaoni and Firuz of Isami were one and the same person.

Keeping the above discussion in view, it is possible to give a connected account of the career of Sultan Shamusddin Firuz Shah after he had taken up service under Bughra Khan. His original name is not definitely known ; probably it was Firuz. Shamsuddin was his title and when he was appointed secretary of Bughra Khan, the word Dabir was appended to his name.[4] He entered the service of Bughra Khan in Samanah or Sanam, where the latter was governor. He accompanied his master, while the latter accompanied his father, Sultan Balban, to Lakhnauti. He was a great poet, which earned him praise from Amir Khusraw.[5] While Ruknuddin Kaikaus ascended the throne of Lakhnauti after the death of

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1. Isami, op. cit. p. 186.
2. Ibid. p. 189.
3. Ibid.

شنیدم بران شه دو فیروز بود یکے از خلج دوم از کوه بود
خلج را بفرمودان شاه راد که دایم کند خدمت کیقباد

"I heard that two Firuz-es were in the court, one from Khalaj and the other from Koh. The king asked the Khalji to be always in the service of Kaiqobad."

4. According to Farishta (Nawal Kishore edition. vol. II, p. 389) Shamsuddin Dabir belonged to Sanam.

5. Badaoni, op. cit. p. 154. According to Badaoni Shamsuddin was a court poet of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud, son of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish. Mr. Sabahuddin Abdur Rahman has proved that Badanoi's view is incorrect and that Shamsuddin was always associated with Nasiruddin Mahmud Bughra Khan. (see *Bajme Mamlukiyah*, Darul Musannifin, Azamgarh, 1954, p. 267 ff.)

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his father, Bughra Khan, he appointed this efficient and experienced man to the governorship of Bihar.[1] The dynastic revolution at Delhi needed such a precaution as has been referred to earlier. After Ruknuddin Kaikaus, when the royal line became extinct,[2] he usurped the throne. It was not difficult for him to do so, because he was already a commanding personality in the kingdom.

One strong argument may be put forward that if Shamsuddīn of Amir Khusraw and Firuz of Isami were one and the same person, why neither of them picked up the name supplied by the other at least on one occasion? As for Amir Khusraw, it it quite clear. From his writings referred to above, we know that he was a personal friend of Shamsuddin. So it is reasonable to suppose that he called his friend by his title, of which he himself might feel proud. Moreover, there is hardly any reference to the events in Bengal in the time of the Khaljis, may be due to fear. Amir Khusraw, being in the Khalji service, has also not cared to know the events in Bengal in this period. On the other hand, Isami composed his book under the patronage of a ruler hostile to Dehli.[3] Moreover, after his sixteenth year he left Dehli for Daulatabad, never to return again.[4] So he lost connections with conditions in Dehli or in Bengal and he must have composed his book on the basis of second hand information. We have to remember that though Barani and Isami wrote their books in almost the same period, neither of them referred to the other.[5]

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1. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1917-18, plate XV, p. 11.
   Annals of Bhandarkar Research Institute, 1955, Vol. XXXVI, p. 166.
2. Dr. K. R. Qanungo thinks that Ruknuddīn Kaikaus was either dethroned or killed. (History of Bengal Vol. II, Dacca University, 1948, p. 93.)
3. *Fatuh-us-Salatin*, ed. by. Agha Mahdi Husain, Agra, 1938, Preface.
4. Ibid.
5. Idid.

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Samudragupta's Performance of Aśvamedha Sacrifice

By

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[The validity ot Samudragupta's title to be designated 'the Restorer of As'vameda' has been called in question by some modern writers. In this article the author tries to establish that the epithet 'the Restorer of As'vamedha' is founded on a misinterpretation of the word 'cirotsanna,' which forms the first part of the legend on the As'vamedha type of coins issued by Samudragupta. In the opinion of Mr. Agrawal the word means 'lengthy and protracted' and not 'long abandoned,' in which sense it has formed the basis for the belief that Samudragupta revived the sacrifice after it had long been in abeyance.—*Editor*]

The performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice by Samudragupta is an outstanding event of his reign. Samudragupta issued a special class of gold coins to commemorate the event. On this variety of his gold coinage, we have the explicit mention of the performance in the following—*rājādhirājaḥ pṛthiviṁ vijitya divaṃ jayaty-āhṛtavājimedhaḥ*-"the king of kings, having conquered the earth, conquers heaven, having performed the horse sacrifice." In the Gupta genealogies as found in official documents like the Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta, the Nalanda Clay Sealing of Narasiṁhagupta and the Nalanda Clay Sealing of Kumāragupta, there occurs, invariably, the significant epithet of Samudragupta *ciraṭsann-āśvamedh-āharttā.* Dr. Fleet has translated this epithet as, "the restorer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice that had been long in abeyance."[1] This rendering gives the impression that the performance of the time-honoured Vedic rite of the horse sacrifice had not been witnessed for a long time past and that Samudragupta's performance of it was considered to mark the revival of an extinct practice. However, 'restorer' is not an accurate rendering of *āharttā.* The root *hṛ* preceded by the preposition *a* means 'to perform a sacrifice.' The root has been employed in this sense by writers of classical Sanskrit verse and prose, In Kalidasa's Raghuvaṃśa, the root has been used several times.[2] Bāṇa in his Kādambarī employs the expression *āharttā kratūnāṃ* : 'the performer of the sacrifices'. Thus we see that the correct meaning of *āharttā* is 'performer of a sacrifice'.

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1. CII. III, 44, 54.
2. e.g. स विश्वजितमाजह्रे यज्ञं सर्वस्वदक्षिणाम् Raghuvaṃs'a, IV, 86 and तस्या एव प्रतिकृतिसखो यत् क्रतूनाजहार ॥ *ibid.* XIV, 87.

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Apart from this, however, the expression *cirotsanna*, which has been used as an adjective for the sacrifice, can give us the idea that Samudragupta's act amounted to a 'restoration' of the horse sacrifice, since the rite is spoken of as one which had been extinct for a time.[1] But evidence is available to show that several horse sacrifices had been performed from time to time before Samudragupta. We know that Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, performed two horse sacrifices. To one of these, Kālidāsa makes a referance in his Mālavikāgnimitram. A silver coin of Viṣṇudeva bears on the obverse the same device as we find on the Aśvamedha type of Samudragupta's gold coins.[2] The characters used in the legend of this coin are of a very early type of the Brāhmī script and resemble closely the characters of the Aśokan inscriptions. The coin cannot be later than the second century B.C. Recent archaeological excavations in the district of Dehradun have brought to light bricks of the fire altar of the horse sacrifice performed by a king named Silavarman, about the third century A.D. Shortly before Samudragupta, the Bhāraśiva Nāgas had performed ten horse sacrifices in the vicinity of the Ganga and the Vākāṭaka monarch, Pravarsena I, had performed four. In view of these continuous celebrations, the question naturally arises, how could the successors of Samudragupta credit him with the revival of the sacrifice ? Various answers have been given by eminent scholars. It may not be out of place to refer to them briefly here.

Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, who raised this question as early as 1923, remarks: "It is probable, however, that the court poets of the Guptas knew little about these monarchs."[3]

Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has discussed this point at length in his admirable monograph, Studies in Gupta History. He remarks, "Gupta inscriptions generally describe the *Aśvamedha* as one that had long fallen into desuetude. *Cirotsanna* would literally mean long decayed or given up, for, as a matter of history, we do know that after the days of Aśoka, who, in his Buddhist fervour, put an end to it, there were several celebrations and several celebrants. Puṣyamitra is said to have celebrated it ; his contemporary, Khāravela of Kalinga, seems to have celebrated something akin and a Sātavāhana ruler of the Dakhan, the great Sātakarni,

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1. The root सद् wit उत् means to fall into ruin or decay. Hence उत्सन्न=extinct

2. The coin has been described in detail by Prinsep; Essays, Vol. I, p. 115, Plate VII, 1.

3. Political History of Ancient India, 5th edition, 549. The question had been raised about the same time by D. B. Diskalkar, who did not attempt an answer.

See IA, 1923, 17.

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lays claim to having performed it. It would, therefore, be difficult to understand *cirotsanna* in the sense of having been given up for long. The term *cirotsanna*, however, is found used in connection with the *Aśvamedha* in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, where it is explained that the scarifice had lost some of its constituent elements and, therefore, a sort of expiatory ceremony had to be performed. This means, that the old time ceremony had lost some of the details of its performance even so long ago as the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. The ceremony was brought to a close by the performance of what was known as *atirātrasoma*, which was an apology for the shortcoming in the performance of the elaborate Aśvamedha sacrifice. It is just possible that in the Gupta inscriptions the Aśvamedha has that meaning; but there is perhaps a little more in it that is implied in this explanation. At the time that Puṣyamitra and others are said to have performed the sacrifice, the position of the celebrants could not be regarded as that of unquestioned suzerainty..... Hence *cirotsanna* here might mean that the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice had not been celebrated for long as a full detailed imperial sacrifice and Samudragupta might have laid claim to having done it, it may be since the days of the famous Rājasūya by Yudhiṣṭhira."[1]

The second of the two explanations offered by Dr. K. S. Aiyangar was also offered by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.[2]

These explanations do not satisfactorily meet the objection that in the face of a series of performances of the rite in the recent past, the officers of the Gupta secretariate could not, in fairness, give to their lord an attribute which was not justified. Dr. K. S. Aiyangar did not fully comprehend the significance of the reference in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

The true explanation of *utsanna* was given for the first time by the late Dr. A. B. Keith in a learned article in the Z. D. M. G. Volume LXVI (1912), 1929-31.

In the Taittirīya Saṃhita, the Aśvamedha is called an *Utsanna-yajña*: उत्सन्नयज्ञो वै एष यदश्वमेधः। कस्तद्वेदेत्याहुर्यदि सर्वो वै क्रियते न वा सर्वः इति।[3] In the

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1. Studies in Gupta History, pp, 44-45.

2. "All things considered, Samudragupta can alone very well claim to have celebrated the As'vamedha of the Epic style, which was in abeyance for long. Certainly it was not performed with such *eclat* by any body except perhaps Puṣyamitra, who, however, came into collision with one enemy on the confine of his dominions and who does not seem to have wielded sway over the whole of India as the Gupta sovereign did. "Indian Culture, Volume I, 118.

3. T. S., V, 4, 12, 3. "the horse sacrifice is an extensive sacrifice, who knows they say, 'if all of it is done or not."

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same text, the expression has been applied to the Agnicayana ritual. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa the word *utsanna* has been used for the Cāturmāsya rite : उत्सन्न यज्ञ इव वा एष यच्चातुर्मास्यानि । (II, 5, 2, 48) and also for the horse sacrifice, (cf. XIII, 3, 3, 6) : उत्सन्न यज्ञ इव वा एव यदश्वमेध : किं वा ह्येतस्य क्रियते किं वा ना ।

In the Kāṭhaka and Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitas also the adjective *utsanna* has been used for the Vājapeya rite.[1] It is impossible to concede that Vedic rites of outstanding importance like the Aśvamedha, Vājapeya and Cāturmāsya had gone into disuse or were passing into desuetude at the time when these texts were being written. The concluding portion of the references cited above *i.e.* 'who knows, they say if all of it is done or not' seems to indicate that these ceremonies were so lengthy that some little detail was always likely to be left out. Therefore, the meaning lengthy, extended or protracted seems to be the most likely one for the word *utsanna.* Dr. Keith has pointed out that in the Suśruta Saṃhitā the term *utsanna* is used for wounds that are swollen. As applied to a sacrifice it would mean 'a sacrifice swollen to great lengths,' *i.e.* protracted. This sense will fit in excellently well in the epithet of Samudragupta. *Cirotsannāśvamedhāhartta* should be explained as one 'who performed the horse sacrifice, which is a long protracted rite'. Thus we can exonerate the Gupta officers of the charge of having made an inaccurate statement, and Samudragupta's successors of indulging in a vain boast with regard to their ancestor.

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1. XIV, 5, I 11, 6.

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Figures of Land Revenue in the Ain-i-Akbari

A Historical Perspective

By

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[The author first gives the figures of land revenue from the Ain-i-Akbari fixed on the basis of one-sixth of the produce in conformity with the practice of India's 'enlightened monarchs' of the past. The learned writer then traces the existence of the same basis prevailing in the days of Manu, the Gupta emperors, the Gurjara-Pratiharas and the Cholas. ' He further discusses the meaning of the word *grāma* and comes to the conclusion that in ancient times it referred to revenue assessment determined in terms of the silver rupee.—*Editor*]

'In the fortieth year of the Divine Era (1594) His Majesty's dominions consisted of one hundred and five sarkars (divisions of a subah) subdivided into two thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven townships (qasbas). When the ten years' settlement of the revenue was made (which amounted to an annual rental of three arbs, sixty-two krors, ninety-seven lakhs, fifty-five thousand, two hundred and forty-six *dāms* [Rs. 9,07,43,881] and twelve lakhs of betel leaves), His Majesty apportioned the Empire into twelve divisions, to each of which he gave the name of *subah* and distinguished them by the appellation of the tract of country or its capital city. These were Allahabad, Agra, Oudh, Ajmer, Ahmadabad, Behar, Bengal, Delhi, Kabul, Lahore, Multan, Malwah : and when Berar, Khandesh and Ahmadnagar were conquered, their number was fixed at fifteen' (Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl, Jarrett's translation, Second edition by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, 1949, Vol. II, p. 129).

The total land revenue of the twelve *subahs* is given as 3, 62, 97, 55, 246 *dams* or Rs. 9,07,40,881 at the rate of 43 *dams* to a rupee. The addition of three more *subahs* must have increased this amount but the figures are available only for Berar (Rs. 1,40,00,000) and Khandesh (Rs. 1,13,82,355) being equivalent to Rs. 2,53,82,355. Thus we get a total of Rs. 11,61,26,236 for the empire. We might reckon this at about Rs. 12 crores in round figures, if we make allowance for Ahmadnagar also.

Basis of Calculation

Fortunately Abul Fazal states the basis on which the demands of revenue were fixed after prudent consideration of all the circumstances

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of the case. He writes: Throughout the whole extent of Hindustan, where at all times so many enlightened monarchs have reigned, one-sixth of the produce was exacted; in the Turkish empire, Iran and Turan a fifth, a sixth and a tenth respectively (Ain., Vol. II, p. 59).

The words '*where at all times so many enlightened monarchs have reigned*' are very significant in this context and seemingly invoke the example of ancient kings, who had also fixed the land revenue at the just rate of one-sixth of produce. The suggestion is that the basis of land rate remained unchanged in the time of Akbar and he approved what had been the customary basis not from the time of this or that particular king, but during the successive periods covered by the reigns of many enlightened monarchs. Land revenue has been the mainstay of national economy in India and ancient time-honoured standards assumed the form of custom governing the assessment from land.

The basis of one-sixth of the produce as the king's share is prescribed by Manu (VII. 130) and this was accepted as the traditional one in this country from epoch to epoch. We have the unequivocal testimony of Kalidasa as put in the words of king Dilipa that it was his custom to receive only one-sixth part of the product of the earth which was guarded by him (षष्ठांशमुर्व्या इव रक्षिताया : Raghuvaṃśa, II, 66). This statement must hold good for the Gupta administration in the fourth century A. D. The poet also informs us that the code of Manu was the basis of law, which the people scrupulously followed without deviation (Raghu. I, 17) and this is most likely an observation having significance for his own times. Sanskrit literature carefully studied may acquaint us with what the amount of land tax was in the succeeding centuries. The Gurjara—Pratiharas in the north and the Cholas in the south were great administrators and the probability is that they approved of the traditional rate of one-sixth portion of the produce from land to be paid as the king's share. Under the Cholas the government carried out land survey operations periodically, of which Rajaraja I (c. 935-1014 A. D.) made a beginning. There are statements in some inscriptions that the king followed the laws of Manu and collected one-sixth of the produce of the earth as the tax due to him (South Indian Inscriptions, III, 28, as cited by Nilakantha Śastri, Colas, 1955, p. 228).

In all likelihood this rate prevailed as the normal land tax during the Hindu rule throughout the centuries. Of course there were other cesses, imposts or impositions of a varying character. It is possible that during the Sultanate period there was departure from the traditional basis of land tax, but, as soon as Akbar's rule was firmly established, the old

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basis was restored as the equitable rate fixed through the ages by many enlightened monarchs, to whom Abul Fazal makes an approving reference.

The share of land produce collected by the state as its claim was known as *bhāga* during the Hindu rule. The produce from land from year to year during normal times is a factor that does not very much fluctuate and hence it may be taken for granted that the total land revenue remained constant or nearly so through different periods of Indian history. The figures mentioned by Abul Fazal have to be looked at from this angle.

Earlier Assesments

Some kind of cadastral survey is recorded for Chola administration. We may also assume with some degree of certainty that a similar survey and assessment were undertaken in north India in the time of Vigrahapāla, whose name has given us the term *bigha* as the unit of field measurement. We may not wait here to determine which particular king he was, as more than one ruler of the name of Vigrahapāla or Vigraharāja are known. Moreover, an extensive series of coins bearing the name of *Vigraha* is known, referred to as *Vigrahapāla drammas*, of which the twentieth part was called *viṁśopaka*, from which the twentieth part of a *bigha* was known as *biswa*.

The exact amount of the land revenue figures for the reign of either the Chola rulers or of Vigrahapāla are not to be expected on account of the paucity of historical material in the country. But our attention is drawn by some unique evidence recorded in an obscure portion of the *Skanda Purāna*, Māheśvara Khaṇḍa, Kumārikā khaṇḍa, Chapter 39, verses 125-162. This information is to the following effect.

A sister and her eight brothers inherited the nine divisions of the earth. The sister's share was Bhāratavarsha, called on that account as Kumārikā Khaṇḍa. She chose for herself the path of austerity and offered her share to the brothers, who gratefully declined it. She then made seventy-two shares of her heritage and distributed them among her seventy-two nephews (each brother having nine sons).

The names of these 72 divisions are given and the figures of *grāma saṇkhya* are recorded for each. The latter are stated in the text of the Purāna to have been 96 crores—

द्वासप्ततिरमी देशा ग्रामसंख्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ।
एवं भरतखंडे ऽस्मिन् षण्णवत्येव कोटयः ॥ verse 162.

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Actually by adding up the figures cited against each name we get a total of 28 crores and 80 lakhs of *grāmas* for the whole country.[1] Dr. D. C. Sircar understands *grāmea* as 'village' in this context, but it is extremely improbable. The possibility of 28 cores and odd number of villages existing at any time in the history of this country should be dismissed. Scholars have long been aware of the inscriptional evidence associating big figures with the names of the different geographical regions. Some times the word *grāma* is mentioned after these figures, but usually it is not, for example, Banavāsī 12,000, Gangavādi 96,000, Nolambavādī 32,000. Rice had proposed to regard these figures as indicating the revenue in gold coins of the divisions concerned (*Bhandārkar Com. Volume*, pp. 238-9). Dr. Pran Nath suggested that these figures refer to estates in each region (*A Study in the Economic Conditions of Ancient India*, p. 26). Dr. A. S. Altekar has advocated the view that *grāma* means a village or hamlet and the same is to be taken in this context (*The Rāshtrakūtas and their Times*, 1934, p. 145). He is, however, aware of the difficulty that the abnormally high figures, if applied to actual villages, would be found fabulous and impossible. Dr. D. C. Sircar's view is worth quoting: Considering the abnormally high numbers mentioned with some of the names and the fact that it is palpably impossible to believe that the small district of Gangavādi could actually claim more than only a fraction of 96,000 'villages' if a village is understood in its moderen sense. I was formerly reluctant to take the word *grāma*, even when specifically mentioned in such cases, in the sense of village.....I was inclined to interpret the word *grāma* as "what is the subject of an assessment" (cf. *Successors of the Satavahanas*, p. 400; Barli Instription, *JBRS.*, XL, Pt. I, p. 5). Later on he switched to the view that the word *grāma* has been used in the sense of a village, although it was his lingering doubt that the traditional or conventional number of *grāmas* in a region or country as given in the list of the *Skanda Purāna* could hardly have been true, if the word *grāma* is taken exactly in its modern sense (op. cit., p. 6).

It is submitted that these enormous figures refer to revenue assessment as calculated in terms of the silver *kārshāpaṇa* coinage. This was the ancient-most currency of India introduced in about the sixth century B. C. and continuing as legal tender upto the Gupta period. The revenue assessment in the Maurya period must have been in this coinage and even afterwards in the Śuṅga and Kushaṇa periods the basis of assessment remaining the same, viz., land produce, the total figures should have continued more or less unchanged.

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1. For a detailed list of the sub-divisions and the numerical figures against each, see D. C. Sircar. A Supplementary note on the Barli Inscription. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. 40 (1954) pp. 7-9.

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For the Gupta preiod our evidence is more precise. The *Sukranīti* acquaints us with a multitude of institutional facts that hold good for the Gupta epoch. It defines a Sāmanta as one with a revenue of 1 *lakh* of *Kārshāpaṇas*, a Nṛipa upto 3 *lakhs*, a Māṇḍalika upto 10 *lakhs*, a Mahārāja upto 50 *lakhs*, a Svarāṭ upto 100 *lakhs*, a Samrāṭ upto 10 *crores*, a Virāṭ upto 50 *crores* and above him a Sārvabhauma occupying the whole earth (*Śukrunīti*, I, 183-186). It is explicitly stated that these figures relate to *bhāga* or the king's share of land-produce as calculated in terms of the silver *Karsha* coinage for each year and were exclusive of other imposts of an extortionate nature.

लक्षकर्षमितो भागो राजतो यस्य जायते ।
वत्सरे वत्सरे नित्यं प्रजानां त्वविपीडनैः ।।

(Śukra., I, 82)

The basis of assessment is amplified further in no uncertain terms :

भवेत्-क्रोशात्मको ग्रामो रूप्यकर्षसहस्रकः ।

(Śukra., I, 192)

A *grāma* is defined as one *krośa* in area and this is to be assessed for one thousand silver *Kārshāpaṇas*. One *krośa* of length measured 5000 cubits in the time of Śukra (*karaih pañcha-sahasraih krośah proktah prajāpatih*, I, 193) and, therefore, one square kroṡa covered an area of 5000x5000 square cubits=2½ crores of sq. cubits. This was assessed at 1000 silver *karsha* coins; therefore one silver *karsha* of land revenue was fixed on 25,000 sq. cubits, or 250×100 sq. cubits, or 374×150 sq. ft., or 125×50 sq. yds.(*i.e.* 1, 29 acres). Thus a field measuring 125 yds. in length and 50 yds. in width was to pay a share of its produce worth one silver *kārshāpaṇa* coin. According to the *Harshacharita*, a *grāma* was counted as 1,000 *sīra* or *hala* measure (*sīra-sahasra-sammita-sīma-grāma*, vii, p. 203). Generally speaking 1000 *sīra* or plough measure of land was assessed at 1000 silver *kārshāpaṇs*, *i.e.* at the regular, easily intelligible rate of one silver *kārshāpaṇa* for one plough measure. It should be noted that although the Gupta monarchs had introduced *suvarṇa* and *Dīnāra* coins of gold as their regular currency, the basis of calculating land revenue continued to be the ancient silver *kārshāpaṇa*.

Kingdoms and principalities of various dimensions were carved out under the stress of political circumstances and they became known in terms of the total land tax that was fixed for the area by the central government. In the celebrated Aihole inscription of 634 A. D. there is a reference to three sub-divisions of Mahārāshṭra 99,000 (*trayāṇām mahārāshṭrakāṇāṁ navanavati-grāma-bhājām*, Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. ff).

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It appears that in course of time *grāma* began to denote the same thing as a *sīra* or plough measure of land assessed at one silver *kārshāpaṇa* of land revenue. I think that Dr. Sircar was right in this original interpretation of taking the word *grāma* as "what is the subject of an assessment" by which is to be understood the minimum unit of land measurement that was assessed. 'One plough measure for one silver *kārshāpaṇa*,' must have proved a stable and fool-proof basis of land revenue, which, if changed, would be resisted by the people.

The figures of *grāma saṁkhyā* as given in the *Skanda Purāna* and partly repeated in the *Aparājitapṛichchha* (G.O.S., p. 88) represent a sheaf of figures snatched from some secretarial records. The total 28 crores and 80 *lakhs* of *grāmas* is to be understood in the light of the above explanation as so many silver *kārshāpaṇas*, which was the standard coinage for over a thousand years and later on accepted as the standard money for fiscal calculations. A *kārshāpaṇa* was 32 *rattis* in weight. In the Ain-i-Akbari it is stated that the rupee of Akbar, which was avowedly based upon that of Sher Shah, weighed 11½ *māshās* or an average weight of 178 grains (Edward Thomas, the *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 405). Roughly the silver rupee of Akbar's time was two and a half times in value of the ancient kārshāpaṇa. This is approximately the proportion in the two revenue figures before us, viz. about 12 crores in the Ain-i-Akbari and about 29 crores in the *Skanda Purāna*.

While mentioning the revenue figures of *subah* Gujrat, Abul Fazal gives 1,62,028 *Mahmūdī* coins as part dues (Ain., Vol. II, p. 257). The writer of the *Skanda Purāṇa* also mentions them separately as *velākūla* income amounting to 36,000 (*Maheśvara Khaṇda*, 39. 1964, षट्त्रिंशच्च सहस्राणी वेकाकूलानि भारत)

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Lindhaur Dev of Hamza Namah : An Identification

By

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[Lindhaur Dev, a notable character in Hamza Namah, a celebrated story book in the Persian language, is identified by the learned writer with the famous Prataprudradeva, who ruled over Telingana from 1296 to 1323 A. D.—*Ed.*]

Lindhaur Dev is a famous character in the well-known story book, *Qissah-i-Amir Hamza.* His name is also written sometimes as Landhaur. Von Heinrich Glück in his monumental study of the Hamza Namah paintings illustrates one bearing on 'Laendaehūr' (*The Indische Miniaturen Des Hæmzæ-Romanes,* 1925, p. 47). Akbar was inordinately fond of that great romance and it is said that 1400 cloth paintings were executed under his direction in the imperial *karkhana* or atelier of painters.

It is written in the *Dāstān-i-Amir Hamza* that one day, while Naushirwan was seated in the Darbar, his wise minister reported to him that since the time Lindhaur, son of Sādān Shah, had ascended the throne in Hindustan, no tribute was being remitted to the imperial treasury. It is also said that Lindhaur was a person of extraordinary strength, a hero amongst heroes, who wielded a mace of 700 maund weight and rode on a mighty elephant. He was the son of the elder brother of the king of Sarandip, who had married a wise woman whom he met in a forest. Since his childhood Lindhaur was a prodigy of strength and many miraculous tales of his physical prowess are related. The account forms part of a letter, which the younger brother of Sādān Shah, who had succeeded to the throne of Sarandip, sends to king Naushirwan. The epistle goes on to say that Lindhaur became so powerful and arrogant that he organised a big army and marching against Sarandip brushed aside his uncle and seized the kingdom. He was so very mighty that an elephant could not trample him and he broke to smithereens the gate of the fort with a single stroke of his mace.

Amir Hamza, the valiant hero of Naushirwan, was commissioned to go to Hindustan *i.e.* Sarandip and vanquish Lindhaur. Hamza prepares a naval expedition and after encountering many obstacles and effecting miraculous escapes reaches Sarandip. He meets Lindhaur on the field of battle in single combat and overpowers him. The latter comes so much

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under his influence that he makes friends with Hamza and accompanies him to his country.

In another part of the book there is a second description of the exploits of Lindhaur, in which it is stated that he, as king of Hindustan, thrice worsted the Muslim armies with ruinous results. In this portion the king of Sarandip actually invokes the help of Lindhaur in fighting against the Muslim invaders.

It appears that the celebrated ruler Pratāprudradeva (1295-1323) of Warangal is at the root of the Lindhaur Dev legendary accounts. Amir Khusrau and other Muslim historians mention him as Luddar Deo and give a romantic account of his power and the battles that he successfully fought against the raiding forces of the Muslim rulers of Delhi. Pratāprudradeva was the greatest ruler of the Kākatīya dynasty, who had distinguished himself in many battles even in the time of his grandmother and predecessor on the throne, Rudrāmbā (1260-1296), who had waged wars against the Cholas, the Paṇḍyas and the Yādavas. Marco Polo visited the east coast during her reign and testifies to her merits as a ruler. Pratāprudradeva, her adopted son and successor, was even a mightier ruler and general. The accounts of his successful resistance to the invading Muslim forces resounded throughout Hindustan and his name became a symbol of honour in every Hindu home. For about twenty years he stood as a pillar of strength repelling successive waves of Delhi invasions. In 1303 Alauddin sent an expedition against the Kākatīya kingdom under the command of Malik Chajju and Fakhruddin Juna, but it was repelled by Pratāparudradeva. In 1309 a second invasion of Warangal came under Malik Kafur, which besieged the strong fort. The main part of the Hindu army being away, peace was negotiated. As soon as his hands were free, Pratāparudradeva sent an expedition to the south and captured Kāñchi. Alauddin was succeeded by Mubarak Shah on the throne of Delhi who sent an expedition against the Kākatīya capital in 1318, but the Muslim army was defeated. Two years later Ghiyasuddin Tughlak sent a very strong expedition under the command of his son, Ulugh Khan, against Warangal, but it ended in disaster for the Muslims. Again, two years later the Sultan renewed the attack in 1322. The Kākatīya fort of Warangal was surrounded so effectively that Pratāprudradeva had to yield. He was taken to Delhi but died on the way (Cf. M. Rama Rao, *Glimpses of Dakkan History*, p. 64).

The impact of Pratāprudradeva's long resistance and repeated victory over the Muslim armies must have been deep and widespread on the popular mind, both Hindu and Muslim. For the latter he became a 'Deo' i.e. a *jinn* or supernatual being. Soon his name was drawn into

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the whirlpool of Hamza legends. Perhaps a critical study of the Hamza stories in historical perspective might reveal at what time Luddar Deo became a legendary figure and was drawn into the expanding cycle of Hamzā Nāmah. Malik Muhammad Jāyasī, writing about 1526-1540 in the time of Sher Shah, shows that the process was complete before the beginning of the sixteenth century and that there was confusion even then as to the actual role of the historical characters. For example, Jāyasī writes :—

लिंघडर देव धरा जिन्ह आदी ।
और को माल बादि कहैं बादी ॥ (Padamāvat, 635.5)

i.e. the invincible Sarajā (Alauddin's general) had captured Lindhaur Deo and Ādī (another lieutenant of Amir Hamzā in the Hamzāh Namāh). Who else amongst the *Pahalwans* would be able to resist him ? In the same context Jāyasī also refers to Mir Hamzā as the helper of Sarajā (Ibid., 635. 2). Here fact and fiction were already jumbled up. Sarajā is the title of Alauddin's hero, and in the Hamaza Namāh also there is one Malik Sārij, who is pitted in battle against Lindhaur Deo, but is worsted by the latter. Deo (Skt. *Deva)* was a common title for a Hindu rājā, and it denoted a *jinn* also. This fact contributed to imparting a legendary character to the Hindu heroes, whose exploits yielded copious raw matarial to the growth of the cycle of legends found in the Hamza Namāh. At any rate the equation Prataprudra deva, Luddar Deo, Lindhaur Deo seems to be a plausible one.

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The Influence of Pashto on Urdu

By

I. A. ARSHI

(Keeper, Raza Library, Rampur—U. P.)

[Sultans of Turkish and Afghan origin ruled in India from the time of the Ghaznavids to that of the Suris. In course of time men belonging to these races also settled all over the country and either entered service or carried on trade, wherever they went. They mixed with all classes of people and gradually diffused their language. In the opinion of the author, these men were instrumental in introducing into the Urdu language a large number of proverbs and words of Pashto origin. Pashto grammatical forms also affected the gender of Urdu words. —*Ed.*]

We have in Urdu language a number of proverbs more or less the same as in Pushto, For instance, we say :

"Ghoṛe kī lāṭ ghòṛā hī sahṭā hai". گھوڑے کي لات گھوڑا ھی سہتا ھے
The Afghans would say : "Da as Latā as sahlai shī".[1] د آس لته آس سهلے شي
These Pashto words are a translation of our proverb word for word.

Similarly, we say : "Ghore ke nāl lag rahe the, mendkī ne bhī tāng uthādī". گھوڑے کے نعل لگ رھے تھے مینڈکی نے بھی ٹانگ اٹھادی They would say : "Asūno nalūna wahal, chingkhai ham warta wanewalī".[2] اسونو نعلونه وهل، چنگ خے هم ورته ونیولی These words, again, are a literal translation of our proverb.

There is another proverb : "Āsmān kā thūkā garebān men ātā hai". آسمان کا تھوکا گریبان میں آتا ھے The Afghans on such occasion say : "Asman na ma tuka pakhpal makh parewuzī".[3] آسمان نه مه تو که په خپل مخ به دیر پوزی
The difference in this case is only this that the word گریبان "Garebān" (collar) in Urdu replaces the word مخ "Makh" (face) in Pashto.

Further instances of this kind are :

1. Ospinah che tawda shī, noba ozda shī. او سپند چه توده شی، نو به اوزده شی (Urdu : Lohā tape nahīn to barhe kaise.[4] لوها تپے نہیں-تو بڑھے کیسے

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1. Horses alone can stand the kicks of horses.
2. Some horses were being shod, and a frog held up its feet to them as well.
3. Don't spit up at the sky, it will only come back on your own face.
4. Iron will not straighten out until it is heated.

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2. Osh osh, sa da sam sho pati sukha ? اوش اوش، چه دسم شو پاتی سوخه Urdu: Ūnt re ūnt, terī kawnsī kal sīdhī hai ?)*[1] اونٹ رے اونٹ تیری کون سی کل سیدھی ھے

3. La bekarí na bīgār kha dai. له وز گاری نه بیگار شه دی (Urdu : bekārī se begār bhali).[2] بیکاری سے بیگار بھلی

4. Paraq la dowara lās khenzī. پرق له دواړه لاس خینزی (Urdu : Tālī donon hāthon se bajtī hai.)[3] تالی دونوں ھاتھوں سے بجتی ھے

5. Awwal Jān, pase jahān. اول جان، پسے جهان (Urdu : Pahle jeā, pīchhe jahan).[4] پہلے جان پیچھے جہاں

6. Sal tak da zargar, yaw da ahangar. سل تک د زرگر، یو د آهنگر (Urdu : Sau sunār kī, ek lohār kī.)[5] سو سنار کی ایک لوھار کی

7. Pokh Shuvde sawai wuh, masto ta ye pokal. پخ شوی و سوی وه، ماستو ته ي پوکل (Urdu : Dūdh kā jalā chhachh phūnk phūnk kar pītā hai.)[6] دودھ کا جلا چھاچھ پھونک کر پیتا ھے

These and many other proverbs are in use both in Urdu and Pashto with the difference of a word or two here and there.

Now the question is : What language do the proverbs belong to ? In answer to this, one of the following suggestions may be advanced :—

(a) The proverbs have come into both Urdu and Pashto from Hindi, Persian or Arabic, or

(b) They have gone to Pashto from Urdu, or

(c) They have come into Urdu from Pashto.

From the philological point of view, all the three points go a long way in solving the problem in question, for Pashto has picked up much from all those languages, from which Urdu has drawn its vocabulary.

Urdu Philologists are not aware of the final say on the subject. In their books there is not the slightest hint as to whether Pashto has had

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*Only literal translation of these proverbs has been given.

1. Camel what part of your body is straight that your neck alone should not be so ?
2. Forced labour is better than idling.
3. It takes two hands to clap.
4. Self comes first, other people afterwards.
5. A hundred taps of a goldsmith are not equal to one blow of a blacksmith.
6. Scalded by milk he blows on curds.

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any influence on Urdu. From Khān-i-Ārzū, the author of Nawādir-ul-Alfāz, who died in A.H. 1169 (A.D. 1755), down to Maulwi Hāmid Hasan Qādiri, the author of Tārīkh-i-Nasr-e-Urdu, not one has offered to concede that the Afghans may have introduced some of their Pashto words into the hotch-potch of Urdu. It cannot be gainsaid that the Turks and Afghans were in power in India from the Ghaznavids down to the Suris, and that later on they penetrated deep into the country and settled far and wide in search of service, trade and education. It is, thefore, impossible for the people of the land not to have borrowed certain words from their neighbours, who had lived there so long. The Britishers stayed in India for a relatively short period. Yet there are hundreds of English words that are upon the tongue, not only of the gentry, but also of the masses. How could it be possible for Pashto alone to be an exception to the rule ? Deep research on the subject has proved that many Pashto words have come into Urdu, as I would presently mention by way of illustration.

Regarding the first suggestion, there is no doubt that Arabic, Persian and Hindi have influenced Pashto as much as they have influenced Urdu. But my research in respect of these proverbs has led me to the conclusion that, with exactly the same words and meanings, the use of these proverbs is not to be found in any of the languages. If, however, there be an instance of the kind, the very fact that the instance is rare is proof positive that it has not found its way into Urdu from Arabic or Persian, or else it would not have been so popular as it is now. The Arabic language, as is well known, always remained a distant voice in the life of the people, while the Persian language touched the masses only upto a limited degree. It was the middle classes that came into contact with Persian more or less. Since the Turks and Afghans had occasion to mix with all classes of people, some modes of expression common among them became popular with masses. There is, therefore, no reason to think that these proverbs have not crept into Urdu from Pashto, and attribute them to Arabic or Persian.

So far as the third suggestion is concerned, it looks like carrying coal to Newcastle. There is no doubt that during the British period Urdu had become the medium of instruction in the N.W.F. Province and that even today reading and writing are taught there with the help of Urdu. But that does not warrant the inference that hundreds of Urdu and Pashto words, idioms and proverbs went to Afghanistan from Urdu during the British regime. Rather we find them there long before the advent of the British. If, however, there be certain words that might be so attributed, the presence of hundreds of other words is not solved there by, purticularly because the trans-border tribes have been but very little under the influence of Urdu or English. There is, therefore, greater

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sense in conceding that Pashto words have found their way into Urdu rather than in trying to prove the existence of Urdu words in Pashto.

Pashto words

In support of my contention, I would put before my readers certain words, regarding which it cannot be said that they are Arabic, Persian or Hindi. For instance :—

(1) الم غلم (allam ghallam). This is a compound word very well-known in our speech. Mr. Platts[1] has attributed it to Persian ; but every Persian-knowing scholar knows that the word as such is not found in the writings of any Poet or prose-writer in the Persian language that has been in vogue from the period of Mas'ud-i-sa'd-i-Salaman of Lahore (d.A. H. 515=A.D. 1121) down to that of Ghālib of Delhi (d. A. H. 1285= A.D. 1869). Then, what period and what part of the country does that Persian belong to ?

In Urdu dictionaries this word has been put down as Hindustani. But it cannot be accepted as such, because Colonel Raverty[2] has mentioned it in his Pashto dictionary and stated that the word is Turkish in origin.

However, in Pashto the word is used as a synonym for 'trifling ; or 'mischief'. I happend to ask an Afghan about it. He said that when they say الم غلم شه (alam ghalam shah) they mean that a thing has either gone topsy-turvy or has disappeared.

It is now up to my readers to decide whether to take الم غلم (allam ghallam) of Urdu as الم غلم of Pashto or regard it as Persian on the ground of mere conjecture.

(2) آبا (abba). This word in Muslim homes has the same significance as the word پتا (pita) in those of the Hindus. Compilers of Urdu dictionaries take it as having been derived from the Arabic word اب (abun). The word, on the face of it, looks as though it were a degraded form of the Arabic word. But it would not be right to assert that the change has taken place right in India. The fact is that آبا (aba, without double 'b') stands in Pashto for father. When the Afghans came out to India and settled and married there, their children called them آبا. The local people took their cue from the Afghans and preferred to be called by their children by the same epithet in the same way, as some of us, under the influence of the British, taught their children to call them 'papa'. Thus, gradually, the word آبا (aba) took the form of آبا (abba).

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1. Hindustani-English Dictionary, Oxford, 5th ed.
2. Pashto-English Dictionary, London, 1860.

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(3) اُوْھی (uhi) of اُوْئی (u' i). This is a well known feminine expression among us. In Urdu dictionaries it has been taken as Hindi. If it were so, it would have been upon the tongue of Hindu women as well; but that evidently is not the case. There is a word هوْئی (hu'i) in Pashto, bearing about the same meaning. The difference is that it is not restricted to women, but is used by men and women alike.

In my opinion, therefore, the word اُوْئی (u'i) has emanated from the Pushto هوئی (Hu'i).

(4) بچرنگڑا (bachungṛa). This, too, is the Indian form of the Pashto word بچونگڑے (bachungṛe). The difference is that, while in Pashto the word is used as a dimunitvie of the word بچہ (bachcha), in Urdu a colour of disrespect has been lent to it.

The fact that the یای مجہول (Yā'-e-majhūl) in Pashto has changed into الف (alif) in Urdu is not strange. Very many Pashto words have suffered this change in India; but this is a subject I would rather not enlarge upon here.

(5) بگلولو (baglolo). This was a term of abuse in Delhi in the days of Inshā, the author of Darya-i-Latāfat. If it was intended to abuse any body, they said; بگلو لو کے or بگلو لو والے or بگلو لو کے بچے. Our philologists failed to fix the origin of the word.

Yet it is Pashto out and out. The Afghan term for a woman, who dressed in awe-inspiring garb, frightens children, is بگلولئی (baglola'i) The ladies of Rampur, particularly those who descend from the Afghans, pronounce بگلولئی as بگلو لو, but the sense conveyed is that of Pashto. From this it is clear that the word بگلو لو is basically Pashto; only it has suffered a little change in its meaning and pronunciation.

(6) پو ئیش (Puesh) and پوئیشا (Pueisha). These words, formerly in vogue both in towns and villages, are now used only in villages. Colonel Raverty and Mr. Platts regard them as Hindi and contend that they have been formed form the Sanskrit word پشی (Pashy).

But the fact is that in Pashto the sense of the word پوش (posh) is the same as in our word پوئیش, which means بچو. There is, therefore, no reason why the word پوئیش should be set off against the Sanskrit word پشی.

(7) تڑاق (tṛaq). Urdu philologists regard this word as having been derived from the Persian word ترق (taraq, with soft (r) ڑ), but the letters ق (q) and خ (kh), as is well known, are foreign to Hindi accent. If they are found in any instance, that must be due to some foreign influence.

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In Pashto, however, there are many words in which ړ (ṛ) goes along with خ and ق. Then, why not acknowledge the word ترّاق as one descended from Pashto.

(8) ترّخل (tarkhal). This is an expression of contempt used by women in temper against those they want to scoff at. Its Hindi or Sanskrit origin is not known. Urdu philologists do not go beyond saying that it is Urdu. But the word as such is just another form of the Pashto word ترّ خر (tar khar). Tne word خر (khar) in Persian means a donkey. The word ترّ (tar) is again an expression of contempt. The ladies of Rampur satiate their anger by calling their oponents as ترّخیل (tarkhail).

This and the co-existance of ت and خ no less goes to prove that we have picked up the word from the Afghans.

(9) تس مس (tas mas). This expression in Pashto is used for the dullard and the lazy. The Urdu idiom (tas se mas nā hūā) تس سے مس نہ ہوا is obviously based on it. Another compound word تسر مسر (tasar masar), too, has been formed from the same Pashto word. According to Platts, it means 'hesitation.' Because a dullard or a lazy fellow lacks power of decision, he is naturally hesitating.

(10) چغل خور (chugal khor). Compilers of Urdu disctionaries have put it down as the dialect of the masses and insist on the use of چغل (chughul) in its place. Apart from whether the advice is right or wrong, I venture to say that the masses have picked it up from the Pashto-speaking people.

So is the case with the چغلی (chughali). Hence it would not be right to say that the words mentioned above have been Indianised from the Persian word چغل.

(11) روهیلا (Rohela). This is entirely Pashto and has been derived from Pashto روهلے (Rohle). In Afghanistan there is a certain territory called روه (Roh). The word لے (lai) has been added to it as a suffix. The Indians have accepted it with a trifling change.

(12) سر مغزن (sar maghzan) is the well known word in Urdu and is used by the ladies of Lucknow as well. Some lexicographers regard it as the abbreviation of سر مغززن (sar maghz zan). But the use of this compound word is nowhere to be found in Persian. In Pashto, however, it is used in either form. Does it not lead to the conclusion that it has found its way into Urdu from Pashto ?

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(13) غرفش (ghurfish) according to some lexicographers is the Indianized form of the Persian غرش (ghurrish). Platts regards it as the Indianized form of the Persian گروش or گربش (gurwish or gurbish). It looks as if Platts is right. But when we concentrate upon its meaning, we find that غرفش (ghurfish) has nothing to do with گروش (gurwish), for the former means 'hue and cry', whereas the latter stands for 'love' and 'faith'.

The word in fact has come from Pashto, where it is in vogue in two forms : ghurfish and گرپش (gurpish). While the former appealed to us generally, the latter did not. Nevertheless, the meaning in either case is hue and cry.

(14) غل غپاړه (ghul ghapara). This, too, has been formed from a Pashto word. غپ (ghap) in Pushto is used for the barking of dogs. Its plural is غپړ (ghaphar). This plural in course of time became غپاړه (ghapara) and came to be allied with غل (ghul).

(15) کړک (kurak). This term is used for the hen that goes off laying eggs and takes to a corner all the time in a ruffled mood. Because it goes on emitting the sound of کړکړ (kuṛ kuṛ), the process is called کړکړانا (kurkurana). The Iranians use کرک (kuruk) for کړک (kuṛak). This led some lexicographers to the conclusion that the Indians have changed the soft ړ into hard ر.

But in my opinion, this word, too, has come from Pashto, for the Afghans speak of such a hen as کړکه (kurkah). The sound it gives is expressed as کړکړے (kurkurai) and the continued action as کړکړ کول (kuṛkuṛ kawul). As to whether the Iranian کرک (kuruk) has changed itself into Pashto, I think both are possible. Yet, this does not in any way affect my conclusion. It has not been established whether the word is of Sanskrit origin. On the other hand, it exists in Pashto in its present form.

All this leads to the conclusion that it has come into Urdu from Pashto.

(16) کالا کلوٹا (kala kaluta). This term is used for the coal black. The second part of this compound word is Pashto. The only difference is that the Afghans use کلوت (kalut) for man and کلوته (kalutah) for woman. The Indians, under their own ideas of gender, preferred to speak کلوٹا (kaluta) for man and کلوٹی (kaluti) for woman.

(17) متر گشت (matar gasht). This is a term for loitering. Its formation, too, has been baffling our philologists. The fact, however, is this: the word متر (mutar) in Pashto means an idiot, a simpleton. It is he who

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takes delight in loitering about aimlessly. The Afghans seem to have coined the word متر گشت (mutar gasht) for loitering. The Indians took it up as متر گشت (matar gasht).

(18) نخالص (nikhalis). This word is very common among the masses. Lexicographers regard it as altogether wrong. But the word is purely Pashto both in spelling and meaning.

(19) هاڑے کھانا (haṛe khana). Platts says that this idiom is Hindi and means 'beseaching' or 'humouring'. The ladies of Rampur on such occassion say : هاڑے هاڑے کرنا (haṛe haṛe karna). This very idiom in the same sense exists in Pashto in form of هاڑے کول (haṛe kawul). From this I deduce that the Indians have borrowed this idiom from Pashto.

(20) هجولی (hamjoli). This is regarded by our lexicographers as having been Indianized from the Persian word هزولی (hamzoli). The author of Bahār-i-Ájam mentions the word, but he knows nothing about its origin.

But the fact is that the Pashto word هزولے (hamzole) means men of the same age, and هزولئی (hamzola'i) means women of the same age. The Indians have formed it into هجولی (hamjoli) with a slight change.

Gender

The influence of Pashto was not restricted to mere lending words to Urdu. Rather, the principles governing the gender of Pashto words affected the gender of Urdu words as well. The grammarians of Urdu generally had no knowledge of Pashto. Perhaps they were carried away by the notion that the Afghans were an illiterate people. How, then, could a language so polished as Urdu, spring through the influence of a language so crude as Pashto ? In my opinion, they were partly right in their supposition. The reason is obvious.

The Mughals for centuries and later on the British for nearly several decades had left no stone unturned in denouncing the Afghans in India for political reasons. But these political reasons are now a thing of the past. We should now study the subject from purely literary point of view and find out how far the rules of gender in Pashto have affected the rules of gender in Urdu.

The rule in Pashto is : the word ending in ا, و, ۀ and ی is feminine and all the rest are masculine. Now, keeping this in view, the readers are requested to read the chapter on gender in Qawa'd-i-Urdu by Mawlana Abdul-Haq, then go on putting the exceptions offered by him against the Pashto rule mentioned above. The result would be astonishing.

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From my excursions into the Dakani literature, I rather feel that the more we go back to the past, the more pronounced we find the influence of Pashto. For instance, all those Arabic words that are in the form of تفعیل (taf'il), excepting the word تعویذ (ta'wiz), are used in Urdu as feminine. But if you read the poems of Muhammad Quli Qutab Shah and Ibn-i-Nashati, you will find them being used as masculine in accordance with Pashto without a single exception. Similarly, today we use the word طاقت (taqat) and other Arabic words that end in تامصدری (ta-e-masdari), as feminine. But the Dakani poets have used all these words as masculine as against Mīr Taqi Mīr and other writers of Northern India, who have used only some of these words as masculine. The word آواز (awaz) is generally used as feminine ; but in Rampur and Jhalawar every body uses it as masculine. This gender of the word has been in vogue among the Dakani poets of old. Even Walī Dakanī has used it as masculine, which is quite in accord with Pashto.

This and many other similar instances go to prove that the effect of Pashto on Urdu is so far-reaching that it can not be overlooked.

Common dialect

If you look at the dialect of the common people, you will find them using hundreds of Arabic and Persian words, most of which have changed their original forms. Our linguists generally think that such changes are due to Hindi accent. May be they are right. But when I find that all these words are already there in Pashto in their changed forms, I naturally start thinking whether those changes happened first in India or in Afghanistan. If the change happened in India first, how did the words happen to go to Afghanistan from here ? So far as the historical facts go, the only opinion that stands to reason is that these changes may be acknowledged as having originally taken place in Afghanistan. During the Muslim period India was full of Afghans and because they lived side by side with all classes of the local people and participated with them in all walks of life, their influence on the masses was far greater than that of the Iranians and Mughals.

This is why where they happened to be in large numbers, the use of those deteriorated forms was naturally wider in scope.

For instance, take the following :

اسان (asan), اوتر (awtar), اجوبه (ajubah), بندوخ (bandukh), پلیت (palit), تلاو (talaw), جناور (janawar), دوال (diwal), سقاوه (saqawah), سیل (sail), تاخ (takh), کالبوت (kalbut), گریوان (garewan), مشال (mashal), ماشوم (mashum), ملم (mallam), نشه (nashah), وخت (wakhat), ویران (wiran).

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In urdu dictionaries these words are regarded as the coinage of India. But in my opinion it would be better to say that they originally belong to Pashto. Just imagine. The English word 'lantern' has taken the form of لالٹین (laltain) in Urdu. Now, if an Afghan learns this word from us and takes it to and uses it in his country, will the lexicographers there be justified in putting it down to Pashto ?

As the Afghans in their times ruled each and every province of India, the effect of Pashto can be traced not only on Urdu, but also on Panjabi, Bangali, Gujrati, Sindhi and Marathi, provided the lexicographers of these languages get into touch with Pashto and offer to take stock of their words in a realistic manner.

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A Violation of the Treaty of Amritsar (1809)

By

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[The author describes how in April, 1845, the British agreed to transfer proprietary rights in an island in the bed of the Sutlej near Ferozepur and to the north of the channel to the Sikhs in accordance with the kuch much' law, and how they failed to fulfil the promise. He holds the view that the British thus violated that clause of the treaty of Amritsar, which laid down that the British Government would have no concern with "the territories and the subjects of the Raja to the northward of the river Sutlej". —*Ed.*]

In 1809 a treaty was concluded between the British Government and Ranjit Singh, known as the Treaty of Amritsar, of which the first two articles ran as follows :

(1) Perpetual friendship shall subsist between the British Government and the State of Lahore : the latter shall be considered, with respect to the former, to be on the footing of the most favoured powers, and the British Government will have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Raja to the northward of the river Sutlej.

(2) The Raja will never maintain in the territories which he occupies on the left bank of the river Sutlej more troops than are necessary for the internal duties of that territory, nor commit or suffer any encroachments on the possessions or rights of the chiefs in its vicinity.

This treaty governed the relations between the British government in India and the Sikh state of Lahore till the 11th of December, 1845, when, as is well known, the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej and the Governor-General Hardinge declared : "The Sikh army has now, without a shodow of provocation, invaded the British territories." We do not intend to discuss here the broader questions as to whether there had been any provocation on the part of the British or whether they had broken the treaty in spirit before the Sikhs broke it in the letter, but would confine ourselves to a simple matter, which may appear insignificant or even trivial, but which, to our mind, is of considerable, though rather technical, importance. We are referring to the island in the Sutlej, which became a bone of contention between the two governments. The island,

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it should be noted, was situated near about Ferozepore and was thus of some strategic value.

It appears that in April, 1845, an agreement was arrived at between the Agent to the Governor-General, North-western Frontier, and Rai Kishen Chand, the Lahore Vakeel, about transferring the island to the Sikhs, because according to the local "kuch-much" law, the proprietary right of the island had gone over to the Sikhs. According to this customary law, the deep channel of the river was to be regarded as the river proper and any island situated between the deep channel and the bank, right or left as it might be, would go to the state to which the bank belonged. That this customary law was recognised by the British is proved by the case of two other islands, referred to in a letter from Captain Nicholson, Asst. Agent, Ferozepore, to the Agent to the Governor-General. North-western Frontier, dated the 23rd April, 1845. Nicholson informs the Agent that in compliance with verbal orders he paid to the '*motamid*' of Sardar Sham Singh of Kasur the sum of Rs. 1,800, being the revenue derived from the two islands in the Gharah, formerly British but now belonging by the local "kuch-much" law to the Sikh chief, as the river has changed its course and transferred the proprietary right. He also states that a further payment of Rs. 720 will have to be made and he solicits sanction for the inclusion of the two items in the revenue accounts.[1]

Be that as it may, apparently the April agreement was to the effect that the situation was to be watched for some time and that the island in the Sutlej was to be transferred to the Sikhs in October, if the river did not still change its course. This seems to be proved by Nicholson's letter, dated the 29th September, 1845, in which he solicited the sanction of the Agent to the formal transfer of the island to the Sikhs, as the river was still on the British side,[2] as also his letter of the 29th October, 1845. In this last letter to the Agent Nicholson writes: "I have the honour to report that on the evening of the 27th inst. Lala Ramdiyal, the Lahore Vakeel, in the course of an interview, mentioned the arrival of a 'moatmid' on the part of Sham Singh of Attaree and reminded me that I had settled with Rae Kishan Chand by your orders during your presence here, that the island in the River was to be given up in October should the River not revert to its former channel. I told him this was a subject on which I had no authority to act further but that I would bring

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1. Punjab Government (pre-partition) Records, Book 45, Letter 64.
2. *Ibid*, Book 45, Letter 164.

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it to your notice."[1] But no action was taken on Nicholson's report and the British retained possession of the island forcibly in direct contravention of the treaty of Amritsar, which, as we have seen, definitely lays down that "the British government will have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Raja to the northward of the river Sutlej." The Treaty of Amritsar had thus been violated by the British nearly two months before the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej.

1. *Ibid*, Book 45, Letter 183.

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A War Historian's Experience with Eyewitnesses

By

C. E. W. BEAN

(Official Historian for Australia for the War of 1914-1918)

[The author was sent to the front in World War I by the Australian government to record the deeds of the Australian Imperial Force. He collected material in about 250 note books comprising his own diary and the verbal accounts given in answers to his questions by several hundred officers and soldiers. Professor Bean has proved by copious illustrative examples the value that should be placed on first-hand information, and discounts the authenticity of evidence which generally passes for first-rate, but is actually not so. He is not prepared even to give full credit to the report actually written by a battalion commander a day or two after the event. The actions considered suitable for awards such as the Victoria Cross, but recorded later without the help of the chief actor, "often appeared to be sheer madness." The news of the front sent by newspaper correspondents generally from hospitals at the base were "well-embroidered hearsay". The accounts of the eye-witnesses suffering from severe wounds or strains "showed signs of exaggeration or hysteria."—*Ed.*]

Nearly all lawyers are aware of experiments which have not infrequently been carried out in order to test the reliance that can be placed on evidence by eyewitnesses. An accident or other occurrence is specially staged. A dozen or twenty persons are looking on. Their evidence is taken afterwards, as it would be in a court of law or by a police authority. The result has often been that, even when the witnesses were examined immediately afterwards, and in some cases where they had been warned of the test and of its object, their accounts rarely agreed and often differed widely on important points.

It was the writer's privilege to carry out what in some ways might be regarded as an immense test of the same nature—except that the incidents were not staged for the purpose—in the historical field during the war of 1914-18 and afterwards. This occurred in the course of his recording for Australian Government the part played by the Australian Imperial Force in that war, and the results of that test were in some respects so striking—and so different from those of the special tests above referred to—that they seem to be worth some study, at least for workers in the same field.

I should explain that in reading military history, which I had done in the past not very widely and purely from personal and human interest, I had constantly wondered what were the experiences of soldiers whose role lay not in directing any considerable part of the struggle, but in carrying out a minute part of the actions, ordered or otherwise, which actually shaped the result. There were, it is true, memoirs of fighting

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soldiers of every rank from which this could be gleaned, but in the more general histories of modern war one found little to satisfy one's desire to know not only what the leaders intended or believed to be done, but what actually happened at the cutting-edge of the military machine, where the intention and effort of one side grated on that of its opponents.

It so happened that the circumstances of this Australian history afforded a peculiar opportunity for satisfying that desire, for two reasons: first, the writer was selected before the military force, of which he was to write, left for the theatre of war, and he was attached to that force throughout its existence ; and, second, the size of that force was not so great that attention to this kind of detail was difficult or impossible. When the war ended, the notes made by the writer, filling some 250 notebooks, comprising his own diary and the verbal accounts given to him by many hundreds of officers and men who had kindly submitted to his questioning (often within a few days of the events), gave ample material for answering with some degree of certainty the question which he had wanted to answer and for which the official reports of the leaders and even the regimental documents did not give adequate material.

It should be made clear that this does not mean that the history, in the writing of which these accounts were used, depended upon them alone or mainly ; important though they were, they were but a small part of the sources ; in bulk they were probably not a thousandth part, and in importance they were certainly not equal to the official sources. But they did enable an attempt to be made to write the story of that war to some extent as the writer wished to write it—that is, to follow decisions, perhaps made at the Cabinet table, down through the higher and lower commanders and right forward to the point where a tired line of infantry lay on some ridge-top hard up against its opponents, whose machine-gun bullets showered them with leaves from the scrub close above their heads ; to record the action of that infantry and, as far as it can be known, of their opponents ; and then follow the result back again—if its importance was sufficient—through the lower commanders and higher commanders, and perhaps even again to the Cabinet table to start, perhaps, another chain of events. In conception that was the theory behind the method of the writer though of course he fell very, very far behind that conception in much of his performance.

It is with the notes of his interrogation of the officers and men concerning their experiences in battle that this article deals. When the war ended, while volume after volume was being written, these notes were supplemented by many others, based mainly on interrogation similarly carried out during twenty years after the war, but in many cases also on

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questions asked and answered by letter ; and in some instances letters were received from soldiers who had been eyewitnesses and who spontaneously sent their evidence on some matter as to which they thought the historian should be informed. Of course letters were also written by many who were not eyewitnesses (in which term I include participants in whatever matter or event was described—for example the writing, sending or receipt of an order).

As to the value of the evidence thus obtained several points stand out. The first is that, so far as the man giving it saw or took part in the actual event or scene which he described, his memory of it agreed to an astonishing extent with that of other witnesses of the same incident. Although the evidence of the eyewitnesses of the same event might be taken at different times and places—sometimes, indeed, with years intervening between the date at which one man and each of the others were interrogated—the agreement was still astonishing. To take an extreme example, when I led a small mission to Gallipoli in 1919, three years after the end of that campaign, I had the privilege of the presence, during part of our visit, of a distinguished Turkish officer, Zeki Bey (afterwards Chief of Security under Kemal Ataturk), who during nearly the whole campaign had played an active part in the fighting as one of our opponents. Daily we examined the old positions together and discussed what had happened there. During one of our first talks Zeki Bey asked me whether I knew anything of an incident which had occurred during a demonstration, a small raid upon a mine-crater, on 12th July, 1915, by a party under—as he said—a "fine looking, handsome young man." I remembered the incident and the man, Lieutenant J. N. Greig of the 7th Australian Infantry Battalion, and I asked him what he knew about the incident. I had obtained at the time of it very interesting and detailed accounts from eyewitnesses, not only of the raid but of the weeks of mining warfare which led up to it ; and I now obtained from Zeki Bey an account of the Turkish side of all this, in which he had played a leading part.

His narrative and that of the eyewitnesses at each stage of this episode on our side fitted into each other exactly, like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. As commander of a vital post he had gone straight to the threatened point at some moment in each crisis. His narrative dealt with the detection of our mining, the explosion of this particular mine under part of the Turkish parapet, the steps taken by the Turks to hold the crater and discover the tunnel leading to it, the stealing of part of this gallery, the detection of our sentry behind a barrier in it, an exchange of shots in tne tunnel which followed, the blowing of a further charge by

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our side, and finally the details of the raid In this Zeki Bey himself finally confronted our fair-haired young leader, then at bay, wounded and covering the retirement of his men till a bomb killed him. All this was described by Zeki Bey in the same detail as marked the accounts of eyewitnesses on our side written down by me more than three years before ; and the stories corroborated each other to an extent which I would not previously have believed possible, in both major and minor details. This is not the place to follow them further[1] ; they are merely cited as the most striking of the very many examples of agreement between the accounts given to me by eyewitnesses of one or other of the many hundreds of incidents and events of which he obtained evidence in this manner.

This agreement was found also in many observations by eyewitnesses written in letters or printed in memoirs or regimental histories—and, of course, in official reports so far as the author of the report was dealing with part of the event in which he personally participated ; for example, those parts of a commander's battle-reports which told of his receipt or giving of orders, or the making of plans at conferences in which he took part, seldom failed to agree with the accounts from others who also took part. But when the report came to describe events in the field which may have caused or been caused by those orders—these being events which the commander himself now seldom has the opportunity to witness—his account would rarely be confirmed in all particulars by those of men who did witness them ; and the discrepancies were not infrequently wide and important. Sometimes, for example, when a commander's report attributed some movement to the carrying out of his order (himself undoubtedly believing this to be true) interrogation of those who received the order would show that it came to hand after the event had taken place ; it might be found to have been initiated by a junior officer or even by a private, of whose action the commander never heard at the time or afterwards.

Soldier's letters from the front often gave good first-hand evidence of the general conditions there and of the spirits, thoughts, and beliefs of the troops, but the incidents described in them were largely hearsay, and as a source of history they were especially dangerous. In almost all

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1. The episodes related by them are described in detail in *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918, Vol. II, pp. 328-332* and *335-337*. Further details of Zeki Bey's account are given in *Gallipoli Mission* by the present writer (Australian War Memorial, Canberra, 1948). The original notes are in that Memorial but withheld from inspection until thirty years after the writer's death.

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cases their writers certainly believed themselves to be writing truth, but they often accepted without question the stories which constantly passed along the trenches or which came to the front line with almost every man who arrived from the rear. Thus in the early days on Gallipoli, when the troops were new to fighting, many letters contained references to "German" officers who were supposed to have somehow infiltrated in disguise in to our trenches and given orders to charge forward, which were followed by disaster, These stories were undoubtedly false ; the orders were certainly given in good faith by our own leaders, and the brave men who gave them were probably in many cases killed during the charges. But the letters reaching Australia were accepted as the statements of eyewitnesses and therefore are believed by many people to this day.

The writers of such reports as that just mentioned were sometimes eyewitnesses of the event which they described—they had seen one of these charges, and seen, perhaps, the men mown down ; but they were not eyewitnesses of the truth of the crucial statement—that the order was given by an enemy. In the crisis of the German offensive on the Western Front in March, 1918, it was again frequently reported that German intruders, sometimes in the uniforms of British staff officers, had given to British troops orders to retire. In making my interrogations I was told of some half dozen such "incidents" ; but in every case in which the report was probed to its source it was immediately apparent that the teller was repeating a story which had come to him from someone else, or that he was assuming without proof that the officer, whom he may indeed have heard giving the order, was a German in disguise. The British intelligence officers probing into stories of many such "events" at that time found every account to be mistaken. One informant told me that he had seen the "German officer" arrested and sent under guard to headquarters where, he understood, he was afterwards shot. The informant was indeed an eyewitness of the arrest ; but the arrested man was not a German, nor was he shot.

A striking example of the possibility of such mistakes came to me years after the war in the form of a letter, written by a soldier at Anzac in Gallipoli in the early days and included among documents sent to me later as historian. The last infantry brigade to come ashore at Anzac on the day of the landing, 25th April, 1915, was commanded by Colonel John Monash, the son of a Polish Jew, who had emigrated to Australia from East Germany two years before the son's birth. John Monash was thus Australian by birth and upbringing, and was possessed by a strong spirit of patriotism. But in the long strain of that tensely-fought battle, when

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some troops suspected hidden enemies everywhere, one wild rumour which flew around was that Monash had been found to be a spy. The letter in question stated this as a fact and added that Monash had been shot that morning on the pier near the headquaters on Anzac Beach.

In wondering how such a rumour could be believed by an apparently intelligent person, it occurred to me that quite possibly the writer of this letter, on being sent down that morning to the beach, or perhaps watching from the hillside, may have observed a group of men who on many mornings were clustered about the head of that pier. It could be that on going back to his post and hearing the rumour there flashed into his mind the thought: "That group on the pier ! That must have been what they were doing !" He could thus have been convinced that he was actually an eyewitness of the shooting. Needless to say Monash was then at his duty in the most difficult corner of the Anzac position ; and he lived not only to be commander of the Australian Army Corps, but to be spoken of, by some who were in a position to judge, as a possible successor to the Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force on the Western Front in the event of anything happening to remove the distinguished holder of that position.

It was the prevalence of such mistakes which drove the present writer, in compiling his notes and, later, compiling the Australian Official History, to adopt towards second-hand evidence the attitude of the law courts. Though himself originally a barrister by profession, he had often doubted whether the extreme insistence of the courts upon the rejection of second-hand evidence was justified. But a few weeks as a war correspondent on the Gallipoli Peninsula changed all that ; from then onwards all second-hand evidence was suspect to him, even the report of a battalion commander upon the operations of his unit written a day or two after the event, and though the commander was undoubtedly trying to furnish a true account. Recommendations for awards such as those of the Victoria Cross, written rather later and without the help of the chief actor, were even less reliable as to detail. Not that the men recommended did not richly deserve the awards, but their actions as described often appeared to be sheer madness. Actually a tactful interrogation of the actor himself a month or two afterwards almost invariably elicited that the deed reported, while no less brave than it appeared to be in the recommendation, had been carried out daringly, but on a reasonable plan and by a good soldier.

A witness's memory of events in which he had taken part during battle was found to remain clear even as to details for an astonishing length of time ; it was fifteen years after the war before many of those whom the writer interrogated showed signs that the picture in their mind

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was becoming clouded ; from many minds they have probably not faded yet. This, I think, must be due to the intensity of the original observation ; the observer's life and those of others might depend upon it and in battle the soldier's duty was always to observe.

Lapse of time could, however, cloud such memories—not, so far as this experiment showed, by disuse but by over-use. I found at rare intervals that an account given to me by someone who unquestionably saw and took part in the events of which he spoke was strangely unreliable. This first happened when I was interrogating a fairly senior officer who had been wounded a few days after the Gallipoli landing, and whose evidence should throw light on an important part of the confused fighting which followed. This officer had been sent back to Australia because of his wounds, but had since recovered and returned to the front. When I saw him it was years after the landing and most eyewitnesses of those operations could give me a clear account of what they saw and did. However in his case it was at once apparent that something had happened to his memory. Not that he was unable to answer questions ; he did that readily. But his answers contained many little stories of the well-rounded type which most eyewitnesses never told though such stories constantly appeared in newspapers, obviously coming from third or fourth-hand sources—from hospitals at the base where they would be picked up by correspondents eager for news from the front and unaware that much of this matter was well-embroidered hearsay.

Knowing that this officer was very highly regarded by those who had fought under or beside him, I was greatly puzzled until he mentioned that much of his time as a convalescent in Australia had been spent in travelling about the continent lecturing. It then began to be clear to me that in his answers to me he was seeing the events not as they originally impressed themselves but as he had recalled them again and again in his talks and lectures.

This cause of error was finally proved to me by an instance in which, twenty-two years after the event, I was asked again to look into the circumstances in which Major-General W. T. Bridges, when mortally wounded at a very dangerous corner at Anzac, had been picked up and carried to the casualty clearing station on the beach. A former stretcher-bearer claimed to have run out, dragged the general into the cover of some bushes, stopped the bleeding, and then, with three others, carried him to the beach. This account differed from that in the Official History ; the history stated that the medical officer at the same post as the stretcher-bearers had run out, pulled the general into cover, and been the first to attend to him. This account had been given to me at the

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time by some who were present, and it was now confirmed by two of them to whom I again referred the question. But the first stretcher-bearer, whom I now also interviewed, gave a description so detailed, and so minutely agreeing in other respects with those given at the time of the event, that it seemed to deserve further careful examination. In support of his story this stretcher-bearer asked me to write to any of the three other bearers, who of course were eyewitnesses, and whose names he gave me. With some trouble the addresses of these men were ascertained, and each was written to and asked if he would help by sending a detailed account of the incident as he remembered it. One did not reply but the other two willingly sent their accounts. Their letters agreed very closely with the details given by the first stretcher-bearer except in one point : each said that he was the man who first ran out and dragged the general into cover of the bushes. Obviously it had been a great event in their lives ; each must have told the story a hundred times and now sincerely believed himself to have been the central figure in running to the general's aid.

The present writer has found that, in searching his own memory of scenes which he witnessed many years ago, the picture which immediately comes to mind is not that of the original scene, but that of the scene as he last recalled it. This secondary picture, without details and somewhat hazy, seems to overlie the original picture, which is much more difficult to recapture and the mind shrinks from the effort of penetrating to the original. But the writers experience is that this nevertheless can be done and the original scene can be sighted, as it were, for a short time, like the ground seen from an aeroplane through a break in the clouds.

I should finish this article by adding that, of the hundreds of accounts given to me by eyewitnesses of battle, two or three, given by men suffering from the shock of wounds or from strain, showed signs of exaggeration or hysteria, and thereafter I seldom interrogated wounded men. I can remember only three accounts which I believe to be deliberately untrue—one of these being from a good soldier but an incurable teller of tales. The other two were, I suspect, told in order to cover up some dereliction of duty by the teller.

For the rest, the accounts given by eyewitnesses of battle, gathered with the caution above referred to, were extraordinarily reliable.

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The Pūrṇadvīpa of the Arthaśāstra

By

BUDDHA PRAKASH, M.A., Ph.D.

[In this article the author has refuted the theory that Pūrnadvīpa referred in the *Arthaśāstra* is to be located in Kāmarūpa and also the suggestion that Borneo is a transcription of Barhinadvīpa mentioned in the *Vāyupurāna*. He has identified Pūrnadvīpa with Borneo, and according to him, it took its former name from the Buddhist saint Pūrna references to whom are to be found in the *Vinayas of the Mūlasarvāstivādins* and the *Divyāvādans* and in the paintings of Ajanta caves too. The name of the island was altered from Pūrna to Poruna or P'o na, *i e*. Borneo. He also suggests that the portion containing reference to Pūrnadvīpa in the *Arthaśāstra* was composed long after the Mauryan period. —*Ed*.]

In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya there is a reference to the *tailaparṇika* of a country called Pūrṇadvīpa or Pūrṇakadvīpa. In the enumeration of the qualities of this substance, the product of Pūrṇadvīpa is mentioned just after that of *suvarṇakuḍya*. R. Shamshastri has translated the relevant passage as follows :—

"As to *tailaparṇika*, *aśokagrāmika*, the product of Aśokagrāma is of the colour of meat and smells like a lotus flower, *jongaka* is reddish yellow and smells like a blue lotus flower or like the urine of a cow, *grāmeruka* is greasy and smells like a cow's urine, *śauvarṇakudya*, product of a country of Suvarṇakuḍya is reddish yellow and smells like *mātulunga* (the fruit of citron tree or sweet lime), *pūrṇadvīpaka* the product of the Island Pūrṇadvīpa smells like a lotus flower or like butter, *bhadraśrīya* and *pāralauhityaka* are of the colour of nutmeg, *āntaravātya* is of the colour of cacus—the last two smell like *kuṣṭha* (costus speciosus) *kāleyaka* which is a product of Svarṇabhūmī (gold producing land), is yellow and greasy and *Anttaraparvataka* (a product of the North Mountain) is reddish yellow."[1]

On the basis of old commentaries, T. Ganapati Shāstrin in his gloss on the *Arthaśāstra* named *Śrīmūla* locates Pūrṇadvīpa in Kāmarūpa (Assam)[2]. But there is no evidence to show how this country can be identified with some part of Kāmarūpa.

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1. R. Shamshastri, *The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya* (English translation) p. 80.

2. *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, ed. T. Ganapati Shastrin (Trivandrum Sanskrit series), No. 79, Vol. I, p. 190.

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The word Pūrṇadvīpa at once recalls to the mind the name of the saint of the sea, Pūrṇa, who used to protect the seafaring merchants from storms and shipwrecks. In the *Vinaya* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins* there is an anecdote of a group of merchants who embarked on a voyage across the seas in search of red sandal-wood. When they reached near the island, where the sandal forest grew, the genie of that place raised a terrible tempest and their boat began to founder. The merchants were dismayed at the prospect of impending death and their chief was dumb-founded with fear. Asked about his silence he replied how his brother, Pūrṇa, had warned him of the dangers of a sea-voyage and asked him to refrain from it. The merchants at once recognized in Pūrṇa the saint of virtue and greatness, who protects the sailors and travellers at sea, and began to implore him loudly with one voice. Presently the saint Pūrṇa manifested himself cross-legged on the deck of the vessel and pacified the tempest. The merchants regained their spirits and filling their vessels with sandal-wood came home safe and sound. At Supāraka (Śūrpāraka) Pūrṇa asked his brother to distribute the jewellry among the merchants and construct a convent of sandal-wood for the Buddha. The brother followed this behest and a sandal-wood convent was prepared for the Master[1].

This Pūrna was not only a deity of the sandal-wood-merchants, he was also a symbol and ideal of successful voyages across the high seas. Pūrna was the son of a big merchant of Supāraka[2] (modern Sopara in the Thana district, Bombay state, 37 miles north of Bombay and about four miles north-west of Bassim). His father married many wives from good families and had three sons. But in his old age he was not properly attended to and a young slave girl looked after him with great care. In recompense of her service, the merchant married her and begot Pūrna. From his early

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1. This account has been paraphrased from *Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstrvādins* by Sylvain Lévi in *Les marchands de mer et leur role dans le Bouddhisme Primitif, Memorial Sylvain Levi* ed. Jacques Bacot, p. 141.

2. Supāraka or S'ūrpāraka is the modern Sopara or Supara or Nala Sopara in the Bassim Taluk of the Bombay State. It was the capital of Sunāparanta or S'ronāparanta or Aparanta [*Majjhimanikāya*, Vol. III, p. 268 ; *Saṃyuttanikāya*, Vol. IV, p. 61]. According to these texts its people were rude and violent. It was a great sea-coast emporium. [*Dhammapada Commentary*, Vol. II, p. 210]. The *Dīpavamsa* (*IX*, vv, p. 15-16) states that a ship containing 700 passengers lost her way and came to the port of Suppārā, where the people greatly welcomed and honoured them. The *Mahāvamsa* (VI, 46) refers to the visit of Vijaya to this place. According to the *Harivamsapurāṇa* (ch. XCVI, p. 50) it was built by Rāma Jāmdagnya. The *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhā* o 30, 1199 ; *Vanas*, 88 8337) mentions it and the Greek geographers testify to its importance as a centre of maritime commerce.

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childhood Pūrṇa had an innate aptitude for business and outpaced his brothers in making profit. After the death of his father his brothers asked him to undertake sea voyages, which were full of perils and calamities with a view to expose him to the dangers of oceanic voyages. Pūrṇa proved very successful in his sea voyages and amassed a huge fortune and was promoted to the rank of the chief of the shipping corporation. He remitted the tax, import duty and freight on the cargoes of all those traders who would accompany him. Hence as many as five hundred merchants joined his company and made huge profits. Pūrṇa undertook six voyages across the high seas and every time returned home hale and hearty. Therefore his fame spread in all the quarters and people began to look upon him as the symbol of safe voyages. The merchants of Srāvasti organized a company and requested Pūrṇa to lead them on a sea voyage. With great reluctance and simply for the benefit of those merchants, who came from a distant place, Pūrna launched on the voyage with them the seventh time. These merchants of Śrāvasti were adepts in Buddhist lore and at dawn and dusk used to recite the *gāthās* and the *sūtras* in verse and prose. When Pūrṇa heard their recitations, he was filled with emotion and enquired about the Buddha and his teachings. After returning home, he decided to embrace ascetic life under the guidance of the Buddha and left for Śrāvasti. There the famous plutocarat Auāthapiṇdaka received him with great hospitality and introduced him to the Buddha. In the conversation that he had with the Buddha, Pūrṇa expressed his desire to be posted in his home province of Śroṇāprānta for the propagation of the piety and discipline of Buddhism and became ready to brave the risks and defy the dangers of living and preaching among a rude and violent people. His firmness prevailed over the persuasion of the Buddha and entering the order he went on his mission to that inhospitable land.[1]

These two stories' of Pūrna throw light on some important facts of ancient maritime commerce and show that group and companies of merchants used to cross the high seas in search of fragrant wood. The stories also bring into bold relief the dominant traits of Pūrna's personality.[2]

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1. Sylvain Lévi, *op. cit.* pp. 139-141. The story of Pūrṇa is also given in the *Divyāvadāna* ed. Cowell, pp. 30-42. Several episodes of the life of Pūrṇa have been depicted in the painting of the second cave at Ajanta. His conversation with the Buddha and conversion to his religion have been painted in an exquisite manner. A ship ready to launch on a voyage shown there perhaps recalls his or his brothers' journey mentioned above. (Ghulam Yazdani, *Ajanta*, II, pp. 45 et. seq. plate 42).

2. Sylvain Lévi treats Pūrṇa as a historical personage, vide, *Des grands hommes dans l'histoire de l'Inde, Memorial Sylvain Levi*, pp. 101-102.

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He was a successful seafaring merchant, a symbol of safety and profit on the high seas, a devout disciple of the Buddha and a zealous missionary of his faith and lastly a saint, a protective deity whom the merchants implored and worshipped during storm and other calamities. The pointed mention of Pūrna with the import of sandalwood from the islands of the Pacific Archipelago as well as the construction of the sandalwood convent at his instance tend to show that Pūrna was particularly associated with the trade of sandalwood. As the best red sandal is found in the islands of Indonesia particularly in the region of Timor to the east of Java, it is natural to conclude that Pūrna was connected with the trade and voyages of the Pacific world. This enables us to look for an island bearing the name of Pūrna somewhere in the Pacific Archipelago rather than Kāmrūpa.

In the second half of the ninth century the chinese text *Man shu* refers to a place situated somewhere in the Gulf of Siam where the people of P'o-lo-men (country of the Brāhmaṇas or India) of Po-sseu (Persia) of shö-p'o (Java) of P'o-ni (Borneo) and of K'uen-luen (Dvīpāntara) used to come for commercial purposes.[1] P'o-ni is, again, mentioned in a passage of the *History of the sung* compiled in the fourteenth century by T'o-to, which is almost copied from the *chu-fan-che* of Chao Ju-Kua composed in the thirteenth century. This passage has been translated by Pelliot as follows :—

"Le royaume de chö-p'o se trouve dans les mers du sud. A l'est, pour arriver à la mer, (il faut) un mois ; en prenant la mer pendant un demi-mois, on arrive an royaume de K'ouen-louen. A l'ouest, pour arriver à la mer, (il faut) quarante-cinq jours. Au sud, pour arriver à la mer, (il faut) trois jours ; en prenant la mer pendant cinq jours on arrive an royaume des Ta-che. Au nord, pour arriver à la mer, (il faut) quatre jours ; en prenant la mer vers le nord-ouest, on arrive en quinze jours au royaume de P'o-ni (Bornèo) ; puis, en sept jours, on arrive an royaume de Kou-lo ; puis, en sept jours, on arrive an royaume de Tch'ai-li-ting ; on parvient au Kiao-tche (Tonkin) et on gagne Kouang-tcheou (Canton)."[2]

The reference to fifteen days journey from the northern coast of Shö-p'o to P'o-ni shows that one had first to go towards the north-west for doubling the south-western point of Borneo. This proves that Shö-p'o is to be identified with Java rather than the Malay Peninsula as held by Schlegel. But at another place in the *History of the Sung* it is stated

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1. Paul Pelliot, *Deux Itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du huittème siècle, Bulletin de l'école Francaise d' Extrême Orient* (1904), Vol IV, p. 287.

2. Paul Pelliot, *op. cit.* p. 296.

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that from P'o-ni to Shö-p'o it is a journey of forty-five days. In the same narrative the journey from P'o-ni to San-fo-tsi (Palembang) is said to be of forty days. This difference in the duration of the journey from P'o-ni to Shö-p'o is due to the fact that the time required for a voyage depended on the state of the sea, the monsoon and the size of the vessel and hence often varied to double and triple the usual. It does not at all indicate that P'o-ni was the name of two different lands. T'o-to, the author of the *History of the Sung* jotted down the notices of the *chu-fan-che* without caring to correlate them.

According to the *History of the Sung* an ambassador of the King of P'o-ni named Śrī Mahārāja visited the Chinese Court in 1082 A.D. This shows that Borneo had become an important state having diplomatic connection with China.[1]

The word P'o-ni corresponds to the word Puni, which was the name of the west coast of Borneo in the tenth century. It belonged to the Kingdom of East Java under Dharmawungsu and had vital connections with China. Later on the name Porunei was given to the whole island. From Porunei has come the name Brunei, which is situated on the north-west coast of Borneo of today. The modern word Borneo represents an alteration in the pronunciation of Brunei or Porunei. Professor Prijohoetomo of the Gajdah Mada University of Jogjakarta has informed me in his letter of 2nd April, 1955, that in the Indonesian and Javanese forms of Sanskrit words the final 'a' is changed into 'i'. For instance, '*varṇa*' becomes '*varṇi*' and '*sarva*' becomes '*sarvi*'. Thus P'o-ṇi or Porunei represents the original P'o-na or Poruna or Pūrṇa. The suggestion that Borneo is a transcription of Barhiṇadvīpa mentioned in the *Vāyupurāṇa* is purely speculative and has no leg to stand upon.[2]

Borneo was one of the islands that were colonized and Hinduised in the earliest age of Indian expansion in the Far East. Seven pillar inscriptions in sanskrit dating back to 400 A. D. have been found in the sultanate of Kutei in this island.[3] "They reveal the personality of a king Mūlavarman, son of Aśvavarman the founder of the dynasty (Vamśa Kartri), and grandson of Kundunga. Kundunga is a Tamil or Indonesian word and shows that the ruling house of Borneo was of indigenous origin.

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1. W. P. Groeneveldt, *Note on the Malay Archipelago*, p. 110.
2. G. Coédès, *Les Etats Hinaouisês d' Indochine et d' Indonésie* p. 92.
3. B. R. Chatterji and N. P. Chakravarti, *India and Java*, Pt. II, pp. 8-19; B. C. Chhabra, "Three more Yupa inscriptons of King Mūlavarman from Koetei," *Journal of the Greater India Society* (1945), Vol. XII, pp. 14-17.

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But it went through a process of Hinduisation possibly owing to conversion of Aśvavarman by the Vrātyastoma ritual.[1] These inscriptions relate to a sanctuary bearing the name of Vapra Keśvara, who has been identified with Siva, Agastya or a local divinity. Along the courses of the rivers Kapuhas, Rata and Mahakam clear and definite traces of Hindu influence have come to light. A beautiful bronze Buddha image of Gupta style has been found at Kota Bangun in the province of Kutei and several Buddhist and Brahmanical images have been discovered in a grotto of Mount Kombeng and in the estuary of the river Rata in that province.

The reference to Pūrnadvīpa in the *Arthaśāstra* is an indication of the fact that this portion of the work was composed long after the Mauryan period. Although the mariners and traders of the coastal regions of India used to visit the islands of the Pacific Archipelago from time immemorial and their voyages became brisk and regular in the Buddhist period as is manifest from the prominence of seafaring merchants and adventurers in the literature of that age, the fact remains that the current of Hinduisation or the transmission of Hindu cults, creeds, scripts, languages, customs, ideas, art and literature started after the beginning of the Christian era and reached its zenith in the Kuśāṇa and Gupta periods. It was about that time that the legends and traditions of India struck root in the Pacific world. The reference to Pūrnadvīpa or the island of Pūrṇa in the *Arthaśāstra* can not be earlier than that period.

1. Coédès, *Les Etats Hindouisés d' Indochine et d' Indonésie*, p. 49.

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Shamsuddīn Ilyās Shāh, Shāh-i-Bangālah

By

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[The author has traced the origin of the word Bangālah used for the united Bengal of the pre-partition days. He refutes the opinion expressed on this matter by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and establishes that though the restricted use of the word Vanga or Vangala was inherited by the Muslims from the Hindus, yet in its wider sense, as applied before 1947, it came into vogue from the reign of Shamsuddīn Ilyās Shāh. Ilyās conquered Lakhnauti, Sonargaon and Satgaon, laid the foundation of independent Bengali Sultanate and assumed the title of Shāh-e-Bangālah for the first time in Muslim history. —*Ed.*]

Absence of contemporary histories of Mediaeval Bengal has created much confusion in reconstructing its historical outline. There are, no doubt, general references to Bengal in the imperial history books of Delhi. Such contemporary accounts relate only to those events in which the Delhi Sultan was directly involved, but other than these hardly find mention in them. Later history books compiled in the time of Akbar and Jahāngīr attempt to sum up the accounts of the previous centuries. These again lack in details, and can, at best, be regarded as a record of useful traditions. Later still works, like *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn* of Ghulām Ḥusain Salīm and *Khurshīd Jahān Numah* of Sayyid Ilāhī Bakhsh, incorporate in detail the local traditions. The first class of books is, by its nature, partial to Delhi, and they were written mostly by those who had hardly any personal experience of Bengal. The second class of books is of course a late record of forgotten events. Their value in supplying useful information is no doubt great, but their merit is to be judged by the circumstanctial evidence that then the political scene and geographical factors demand. Any legend contrary to this type of reasoning must be rejected.

Shamsuddīn Ilyās Shāh has been mentioned by his contemporaries, Ḍiāuddīn Baranī, Shamsī Sirāj 'Afīf, and in the letters of Ainul Mulk Māhrū, in connection with Fīroz Shāh's invasion of Bengal.[1] Yaḥyā Sarhindī also repeats the same story,[2] while later Historians have tried to add some detail. Yet the origin of Shamsuddīn, popularly called Ḥājī Ilyās, is hardly known. His rise to power in the troublous days of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq's rule has become a legendary tale. His bid to

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1. I have not been able to utilise *Sīrat-i-Fīrozshāhī* for this article as the manuscript was not available to me in Dacca.

2. K. K. Basu, The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, Eng. Tr., pp. 128-29.

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establish an independent dynasty in Bengal with his forces ravaging the eastern provinces of the tottering Delhi empire, is said to be the real cause of head-ache to Fīroz Shāh. But nowhere do we learn the process by which he consolidated his strength in Bengal. Yet 'Afīf bestows upon him the titles of Shāh-e-Bangālah, Shāh-e-Bangāliyān and Sultān-e-Bangalāh, and speaks of his Lashkar-e-Bangālah.[1] Yaḥyā Sarhindīī gives the name of one supporter, "Shahdeo," chief of the Bengalis, and records the "equipage, attendante, and countless Bengalis" of Ilyas Ḥajī.[2] Diā Barani also notes :—

که الیاس ضابط لکهنوتی که بتغلب آن دیار را فرو گرفته است درین وقت حشری از پایک و دهانک آب گرفته بنگاله را جمع کرده است و از بے عاقبتی در ترصت تازیده-[3]

"That Ilyās, the ruler of Lakhnauti, who has taken possession of that country by force, at this time has gathered together the *pāiks* (foot soldiers) and *dhanukas* (bowmen) from the river-girt Bangālah and invaded Tirhat without any reason."

Baranī further continues the sordid tale of cruelty and destruction wrought by Ilyās on the people in general. This side of the story is better recorded by Ainul Mulk in the words of the Sultan's war proclamation :

"Whereas it has came to our auspicious ear that Ilyās Hājī has been committing oppression and high-handedness upon the people of the territory of Lakhnauti and Tirhut, shedding unnecessary blood, even shedding the blood of women, although it is a well established proposition in every creed and doctrine that no woman even if she be a *kāfir*, should be slain. And (whereas the said Ilyās Hājī) has been levying illegal cesses not sanctioned by the law of Islam, and thus putting the people into trouble; there being no security of life and property, no safety for honour, and chastity; ..... and as Ilyās Ḥājī during the life time of the late Majesty was obedient, and loyal to the throne; and even during our auspicious coronation he confessed his submission and fealty....."[4]

These are the contemporary versions about the character of Shamsuddīn Ilyās Shāh, whose very title was a matter of doubt to the later historians. Nizāmuddīn Bakhshi writes about him :

حاجی الیاس خود را سلطان شمس الدین بنهگره خطاب داده تمام مملکت لکهنوتی و بنگاله را متصرف شد-[5]

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1. *Tarīkh-i-Firozshahi*, ed. by Mvi. Vilāyat Hu-ain, Calcutta, pp. 114-18.
2. K. K. Basu, *Op. Cit.*, p. 129.
3. Barani, *Tarikh-i-Fīrozshāhī* (Bibliotheca Indica), p. 586.
4. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1923, p. 279.
5. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, ed. by B. Vol. III. p. 262.

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"Ḥāji Ilyās giving himself the title of Sultan Shamsuddīn *Bhangra* took possession of the country of Lakhnauti and Bangālah."

Ghulām Ḥusain Salīm repeats this very sentence but further adds, "As he took much *bhang*, he was called Shamsuddīn Bhangrah."[1] On the other hand Farishtah has the following :—

چون شاه علاءالدین کشته شد تمام لکهنوتی و بنگاله بتصرف حاجی الیاس در آمد- باتفاق امرا خود را شاه شمس الدین شاه بهنگره خطاب داده خطبه بنام خود خواند و لقب او بهنگره است- لیکن وجه تسمیه آن برمؤلف معلوم نیست-[2]

"When king 'Alāuddin was killed, the whole of Lakhnauti and Bangālah fell into the hands of Ḥājī Ilyās. With the concurrence of the Amīrs, king Shamsuddīn gave himself the title of Shāh Bhankrah. Khuṭbah was read in his name, and his title is *Bhankrah*, but the origin of that (word) is not known to the author."

If the explanation given by Ghulām Ḥusain Salīm about the title Shāh Bhankrah is correct, it seems strange how a person, much less a Sultan, could adopt such a title for himself. But Salīm was probably led to believe it in the same way as H. Blochmann[3] himself was misled by taking it as a corruption of the Hindustani *Bhangra*, "a seller or eater of the drug *bhang* (hemp)". For his explanation Blochmann relied on Barani, who uses the phrase[4] بخیال بهنگ or[5] از خیالات بهنگ (in the mood *bhang*-eating). Barani further definitely writes :

پایکان معروف بنگاله که ساله خود را ابو بنگال میخوانانیدند و مرد هامی گویانیدند و بیرهٔ جانبازی از پیش الیاس بنگی بر میگرفتند و پیس رکاب آن سودای بارایگان آب گرفته بنگاله دست و پای میزدند- درحالت محاربه درپیش شیرافگنان و تیراندازان لشکر منصور هردو انگشت دردهان می انداخت و خبر دری میکردند و تیغ و تیر از دست می انداختند و پیشانی بر زمین می مالیدند و علف تیغ میشدند-[6]

"The well-known *pāiks* of Bangālah who, for years, gave themselves the name of *Abū Bangal* (the father of Bengal) and claimed to be (heroic) men, took promise before *Ilyās the Bhang-eater* to sacrifice their lives (for him); and standing in front of his (array of) horses, together with the *Rāis* of the river-girt Bangālah, (they) bravely threw about their arms and legs. In the time of battle, when faced with the brave soldiers and

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1. *Riyaḍ-us-Salaṭin*, Eng. Tr., p. 98.
2. *Tārīkh-i-Farishtah*, Nawal Kishore ed., Vol. II, p. 296.
3. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1873, p 255.
4. Barani, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrozshāhī*, p. 587.
5. *Ibid*, p. 591.
6. *Ibid*, p. 593.

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archers of the army of the Victorious, (they) put their fingers (in fear) into their mouths, lost their sense, threw away swords and arrows from their hands, rubbed their foreheads on the ground, and fell to the swords of the enemies."[1]

In all these passages Baranī is using derisive words, and speaking of the hilarious mood of Ilyās and his followers, caused by their maddening pride, a mood which is not incomparable with the state of mind of a person who is intoxicated with *bhang* eating. Hence it raises doubt whether the word *bhangi*, as applied to Ilyās Shāh, should be taken literally. Even if Ilyās was a *bhang*-eater, as such habits of drinking and introxication are not unknown in the case of Muslim Sultans, it is hardly likely that the Sultan should have adopted such a title like *Bhangeṛā* which is absolutely a modern Hindi word, formed with the additions of the affix iṛā to *bhang* (*Bhanga*+iṛā =*Bhangeṛā*). On the other hand the passage just quoted from Baranī is very important in so far as it throws light on the supporters of Ilyās Shāh. They were the *pāikān ma'rūf Bangālah*, who called themselves *Abū Bangāl*, and *Rāigān āb giraftah Bangālah*, the name of one of them is given to us by Yaḥyā Sarhindī as Sahadeva. It is probably for this reason that 'Afīf speaks of the Lashkar-e-Bangālah of Ilyās Shāh, and further gives him the title of Shāh-e-Bangāliyān and Shah-e-Bangālah. When we find how proud are the *pāiks* in calling themselves *Abū Bangāl*, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the title, Shāh-e-Bangālah, was given to Ilyās by his own supporters. In the language of these people the title would be interchangeable with *Shāh Banger*, which, to a Persian scholar not knowing Bengali, would hardly connote any sense. Hence the corrupted form *Shāh Bhankrah* is found in Farishtah and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. Farishtah appears to be right in recording the tradition that this title was adopted by Ilyās Shāh in concurrence with the local *Amirs*.

There is also historical justification for the adoption of such a title at this time. The original Muslim kingdom of Lakhnauti, which was founded by Bakhtyār Khaljī, gradually expanded southward into the country of the Rāḍhās and eastward into Bang until Ghiyāthuddīn Balban appointed Ṭughril the governor (*Wālī*) of Iqlīm Lakhnauti and Bangālah.[2] Henceforward the two territorial terms occur side by side; for example in the following words of Balban:

من اقلیم لکهنوتی و بنگاله را پسر خورد داده ام و سالهاست که آن اقلیم مضبوط شده است[3]

1. My translation, which is literal, slightly differs from Blochmann's.
2. Baranī, *Tarīkh-i-Fīrozshahī*, p. 282.
3. *Ibid*, p. 53.

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"I have given the territory of Lakhauti and Bangālah to my younger son, and it is for years that the territory has been growing strong."

اقلیم لکهنوتی عرصهٔ بنگاله را که در بوست آوردن آن چندین خون خورده ام-[1]

"What a great amount of blood I have drunk in subduing Iqlīm Lakhnauti and 'Arṣah Bangālah."

Here Bangālah signifies eastern and southern Bengal outside the Muslim territory of Lakhnauti. Much of this vast area was still unconquered, and hence Balban exhorted his son, Bughrā Khān, for the conquest of Iqlīm Baṇgālah.[2] Minhāj refers to this region as Bang when he says that the descendants of Lakshmaṇasena were still ruling over there at the time of his visit.[3] His geographical understanding is clear from the following quotation in which he combines Lakhnauti with Bihar, and Bang with Kamrūp:

رعب او در دل کفار اطراف بلاد لکهنوتی و بهار و بلاد بنگ و کامرود اثر تمام کرد-[4]

"Fear of him (Bakht-yār) had caught the hearts of the people in the country of Lakhnauti and Bihar and in the country of Bang and Kāmrūd."

Baranī was the first Muslim writer to use the word Bangālah. The evidence of coins shows that to the contemporary Muslims these two terms were synonymous.[5] Baranī uses three phrases: 'Arṣah Bangālah, Iqlīm Bangālah, and Diyār Bangālah. Dr. K. R. Qanungo[6] takes the first phrase to mean Satgāon region, and the second phrase as applying to Sonārgāon territory, probably because Balban in the first quotation, above, urges Bughrā Khān to conquer Iqlīm Bangālah, and in the second quotation he refers to his shedding of blood in subduing 'Arṣah Bangālah. But even here the last phrase cannot refer to Satgāon territory, as that was still unconquered. On page 452 (Baranī) Diyār Bangālah implies both the territories of Sonārgāon and Satgāon, which were brought under direct imperial control by Tughlaq Shah. Slightly later Diyār Bangālah, with its capital at Sonārgāon, stood quite distinct from Iqlīm Lakhnauti, as Ibn Banṭṭutah clearly distinguishes the kingdom of Bangālah, which was under

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1. Barani, *Tārikh-i-Fīrozshāhī*, p. 93.
2. *Ibid*, p. 92.
3. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, text, p. 151.
4. *Ibid*, p. 148.
5. After the exhortation of Balban when a portion of this region was conquered it was referred to as Bang. See the Coins of Kaikaus (*J. A S. B.*, 1922, p. 410), and of Fīroz Shāh I of Bengal (Botham, *Catalogue of Assam Coins*, 2nd ed., p. 134, No. 1).
6. Sir J. N. Sarkar, *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 71.

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Fakhruddīn Mubārakshāh during his visit, from the territory of Lakhnauti under 'Alī Shāh.[1] Both these terms, Bang and Bangālah, were adopted by the Muslims from Hindu sources,[2] and though Vaṅgāla was generally used in Sanskṛit literature as a part of Vaṅga, still in some cases they mean one and the same country and refer to the river girt region of southern and eastern Bengal.

With the accession of Ilyās Shāh the terminology changed. It was dictated by the political change under him, who united the two territories of Lakhnauti and Bangālah under his sole authority. Though Baranī calls him only ḍābiṭ-i-Lakhnauti, his own statement, quoted before, explicitly shows that Ilyās had been acclaimed king even by the *Pāikān* and *Rāigān* of Bangālah. By the time Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq invaded Bengal in A. D. 1353 or 1354, Ilyās had already conquered Sonārgāon and united the two kingdoms.[3] Long before this conquest, as Farishtah records, Ilyās had adopted the title of Shāh-e-Bangālah, for the find of an inscription in the suburb of Calcutta, dated 743/1342, suggests that Ilyās had been by then ruling over Lakhnauti and Satgāon regions.[4] A further corroboration of Ilyās' power is afforded by the Kāṭhmāṇḍu inscription, which mentions that in A.D. 1347—

सूत्राण समस्दीनो वङ्गालबहुलैर्बलैः ।
सहागत्य च नेपालो भग्नो दग्धस्तु सर्वशः ॥[5]

"Sultan Shamsuddīn came with innumerable forces of Vaṅgāla, and Nepal was devastated and burnt all round." In the *Vaṁsāvali* he is called पूर्व्व सुल्तान समसदिन,[6] i.e. Shamsuddīn, the king of the east. The first quotation corroborates the evidence of Baranī and 'Afīf that Ilyās had large troops from Bengal. In fact Lashkar-e-Bangālah of 'Afīf is the exact translation of the Sanskrit phrase Vaṅgāla-bala.

It is in this historical context that we can better understand the use of the phrase Shāh-e-Bangālah by 'Afīf, and it is the importance of the political change wrought by Ilyās that this title stuck to his name, though later Persian historians did not understand its meaning and political

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1. Ibn Baṭṭuṭah, French edition and translation, Vol. IV, p. 214.

2. R. C. Majumdar : *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 19 ; and in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIX (1943), pp. 297, 317.

3. N. K. Bhattasali, *Coins & Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal*, p. 28.

4. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1939-40, p. 8.

5. *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XXII, 1936, p. 93.

6. *Ibid*, p. 95.

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significance. Ilyās not only left behind an independent ruling dynasty of his own, but also laid the foundation of a United Bengali Kingdom on the willing support of the local people. Henceforth this Muslim kingdom was know as the kingdom of Bangālah, and its political future veered round the support of the local people. The term Lakhnauti Sultanate came to an end. To the Muslims and the foreigners it became the country of Bangālah, whence the modern name Bengal. Even the famous saint of Pānduā is referred to as Shaikh Nūr Bangāli.[1] Bangālah in this very sense occurs in the well-known couplet of Ḥāfiẓ.

شکر شکن شوند مر طوطیان مند- زین قند پارسی که به بنگاله میرود
حافظ ز شوق مجلس سلطان غیاث الدین- خامش مشو که کار تو از ناله میرود

"All the parrots of India will crack sugar-candy
Through this Persian candy which is going to Bengal (Bangālah)
O Ḥāfiz, be not speechless with yearning for the court of Sultan Ghiyāthuddīn ?
For thy affair will be furthered by thy lamentation."[2]

It is also used by 'Abdur Razzāq[3] in connection with the exchange of ambassadors between Shāh Rukh and Shamsuddīn Aḥmad Shāh. Bābar, referring to 'Alāudddīn Ḥusain Shāh and his son Nuṣrat Shāh, calls them rulers of Bangālah, and also notes customs peculiar to Bangāli.[4] The Chinese accounts, which began from A.D. 1406, refer to this country as Pang-ko-la[5] (Bangālah), and all the European writers give the same name Bengale or Bengala. But the local Hindus in their works, whether Sanskṛit[6] or Bengali[7] of this period, gave the general name of Gauda to this country. Hence was the popular use of the phrase Gauḍa-Bangālah in some of the early Mughal coins issued in Bengal.[8]

Shamsuddīn Ilyās Shāh was the first Sultan who, by his sagacity and political acumen, founded the united kingdom of Bengal and earned for himself the name of Shāh-i-Bangālah. It was from his time that the connotation of the word Bangālah changed, and it was thenceforward applied to the whole country of Bengal.

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1. *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol LXVII, (1948), pp. 32-39; in the letters of Haḍrat Ashraf Jahangir Simmani.
2. *Riyaḍ-us Salatin*, Eng. Tr., pp. 105-6.
3. *Maṭla' Sa' dain*, ed. by M. Shafi, Lahore, 1949, Vol. II, pt. II, pp. 782 83.
4. A. S. Beveridge, *Bābarnama* in English, Vol. I, p. 482.
5. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895, p. 529.
6. E. g. Rāyamukuta Brihaspati in his works, see *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1952, pp. 217-20.
7. See the quotations in D. C. Sen, *Bengali Language and Literature*, Ist ed., pp. 11-12.
8. *J. A. S. B.* 1920, N. S., p. 199-213 : Read Hodivala's discussion.

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Attempt has been made by Dr. R. C. Majumdar to trace an earlier historical occasion since when the word Vaṅgāla is supposed to have been used in wider sense. He writes : "Now if we assume that the Pālas originally ruled over Vaṅgāla and gradually spread their power and authority over the rest of Bengal, it is not difficult to believe that their long and glorious reign is mainly responsible for the application of the name of their home territory to the whole of the province. It would appear from Tārānāth's account that in the first stage of the extension, Vaṅgāla denoted only the territories formerly comprised within Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla. The rule of the Pālas and Candras over this region and the similarity of the two names probably facilitated this earlier extended connotation. Later the process continued, and perhaps thanks to the Pālas, Vaṅgāla came to denote the whole of the modern province of Bengal."[1] This conjecture of Dr. Majumdar is hardly borne out by the epigraphic record of the Pālas. In the contemporary inscriptions Vaṅgāla-deśa is always a restricted territory,[2] and even the wider term Vaṅga is never applied in the inscriptions of the Pālas and Senas to the whole of Bengal. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury sums up the evidence thus : "Vaṅga of Pāla and Sena records seems to have been a smaller tract than the old territory known to the Jaina Prajñāpaṇā and the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa. It could not have extended as far as Tamluk, as the district beyond the Bhagirathi, which was once included within its area, now formed part of the Vardhamānabhukti... ... ... In the later Pāla period Vaṅga was divided into two parts, northern and southern .....(which) corresponded roughly to the two bhāgas of the same territory mentioned in the later Sena inscriptions, namely Vikramapura *bhāga* and Nāvya."[3] Sometimes the word Vaṅga has been very loosely used by non-Bengalis, as in the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja, where Dharmapāladeva is referred to as Vaṅgapati.[4] But never was the word Vaṅgāla used for the whole of Bengal in the Hindu period. Even in the local Buddhist literature of this period both the words Vaṅgāla-deśa and Vaṅgālī have been used in the same restricted sense.[5] The Sena rulers took pride in calling themselves Gauḍeśvara[6] and in all subsequent writings of the Hindu scholars, as has

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1. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVI (1940), p. 235.
2. R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, Vol. 1, pp. 18-19.
3. *Ibid*, pp. 15-16.
4. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII (1925-26), p. 108, verse, 10.
5. Compare the verses in the Buddhist Mystic Songs, Ās'caryacaryācaya, text No. 49, ed. by Dr. M. Shahidullah in *Dacca University Studies*, Vol. IV, No. II., p. 64, verses 1 and 2., H. P. S'astri, *Bauddha gana doha*, Calcutta, p. 73.
6. N. G. Majumdar. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 111, 136.

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already been pointed out, Gauḍa was applied in a general sense for Bengal. But as far as the word Vaṅgāla is concerned, no earlier evidence is so far known for its wider connotation, though historically it is true to say that the Pālas ruled over greater portion of Bengal and Bihar. It is this restricted use of the words Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla, which the Muslims inherited from the Hindus, and later owing to political expediency its meaning was extended,

The modern use of the word Bangālah (or Bengal) can be definitely traced only from the time of Shamsuddīn Ilyās *Shāh* who, by laying the foundation of an independant Bengali Sultanate on the willing support of the local people, won the title of *Shāh*-e-Bengālah, or Shāh-Vaṅger, a term which the later Persian historians could hardly understand, and which they handed down to us as *Shāh* Bhankrah. Whether Ilyās *Shāh* was a *bhang* eater or not, is very doubtful, as Baranī is throughout derisive in his language, In any case *Shāh* Bhankrah is not at all connected with *Bhang* eating.

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An Aspect of the Vratya Culture : Who were the Vrātyas ?

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[In this paper genuine effort has been made to establish the identity of the Vrātyas. The conclusions are drawn from a study of the literature of the Vedic and Later Vedic periods. According to the writer "Vrātya is a cultural term meaning a way of life characterised by distinct religious cults and practices, which are to be associated with the non-Vedic or non-Aryans in general and Asuras in particular. He also traces in an interesting manner the process of cultural fusion of the Aryans and the non-Aryans, which began in the Atharvavedic period and was completed by the time of the compilation of the Puranas. —*Ed.*]

The *Vrātyas* have been elaborately described in the earlier and later texts, but their identity has been very much disputed for a long time. According to one group of scholars the term *Vrātya* refers to the non-Aryans or the non-Vedic people of our country in general, while the second group holds that the term actually refers to those Aryans, who went to distant non-Aryan part of the country for the propagation of Brahmanical culture.[1] Those Aryans forgot even their own rituals and customs and hence came to be considered as degraded and so styled as *Vrātyas*. A third group of scholars, however, maintains that the term refers to those Aryans who failed to observe the Brahmanical rites and practices, and thereby came to be regarded as fallen or degraded from the orthodox Brahmanical society.[2] This group finds its support in the injunctions of the *Smṛitis*. According to the Sūtras (Āpastamba-dharma, Pāraskara-gṛihya, etc.) a *Vrātya* is one who has not, and whose ancestors have not, performed the *upanayana*. On the other hand Budhāyana has applied the term to all who are born of the mixture of *Varṇas*. Manu, Yājñavalkya and others use the term *Vrātya* to refer to the *patitasāvitrīka* (those for whom there is no *upanayana* or '*gāyatrī*', and who, accordingly, are sinful and hence outside the pale of orthodox Brahmanism). Still another group, while explaining the *Vrātya* Book of the Atharvaveda, opines that the "*Vrātyas* were a class of kshatriya *Jogins* devoted to

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1. *J. B. B. A. S.*, Vol. XIX., pp. 357-64.

2. *P. I. H. C.*, 1946, 109. For other views regarding the identity of the *Vratyas* see *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, pp. 166-7 ; Dutta. *History of Civilisation in ancient India*, p. 203 ; *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 26 ; *Calcutta Review*, 1926, p. 287.

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some form of worship of Śiva." It has been further contended that the *Vrātyas* were really Aryan in origin but leading a depressed state of life and that in course of time the Brahmanical society realised the necessity of bringing them within the fold of brahmanical culture.[1] But a critical analysis of the texts dealing with the *Vrātyas* cultural traits may throw fresh light on the identity of the *Vrātyas*.

That the pre-Aryan religion of India was un-Vedic and non-brahmanical admits of no doubt. This is clearly evident from the description of the features of the culture of the non-Aryans as given by the Aryans themselves.[2] From a consideration of the texts dealing with the *Vrātyas* culture, it can be assumed that they were originally certain tribes, presumably of the east, but undoubtedly outside the pale of vedism or brahmanism. They had their own peculiar customs and cults foreign to the Vedic Aryans and they could be brought within the pale of Brahmanism only through the performance of certain purificatory rites.[3] It is only in the later period that the term *Vrātya* came to be used in a much more extended sense, meaning the degraded or the fallen members of the brahmanical society.

If it be so, it becomes very difficult to understand why the *Vrātya*-Book of the Atharvaveda should pay such extravagant compliments to the *Vrātyas* and show such respect to them as to deify them.[4] A *Vrātya* has been considered as the highest deity and the source of all beings. In this connection it may be pointed out that the Atharvaveda glorifies only those *Vrātyas*, who were converted and thereby included within the Brahmanical fold. Even Sāyaṇa admits that the Atharvavedic descriptions do not apply to all the *Vrātyas*, but only to those holy *Vrātyas*, who have been purified by the performance of the purifactory rites and thereby admitted to the fold of Brahmanism.[5] It may also be argued, as has beed done by Dr. Chatterji, that the "*Vrātya*-Book may also be the work of those Aryans who felt fascinated by the *Vrātyas* with the non-midland practices and perhaps by the wild mysticism, for the

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1. *B. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. IX, Pp 298-300.

2. *Pañchavimśa-Brāhmana*. XVII 4, 1-9 ; *Atharvaveda* XIV. 1-4 ; Muir, *Sanskrit Texts* Vol. 1, p. 481 ; *S. B. E.*, Vol. XXV. p. 442; 471, 186-87.

3. *Vrātyastoma* is a purificatory rite for the conversion of the *Vrātyas*, and it is by performing this rite that a *Vrātya* ceases to be *Vrātya*. See Kane, *History of the Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, p. 96 ; *J. B. B. R S.*, Vol. XXV pp. 362-63.

4. Shinde, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Atharvaveda*, p. 296. In the *Vrātya*-Book we have two groups of *Vrātyas*—one group as divine beings and the other as *brahmacharins*.

5. Kane, *History of the Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II. p. 386.

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Atharvavedic hymns are highly mystic in this connection".[1] In reality the *Vrātya*-Book appears to be an idealisation of the purified or the converted *Vārtyas* by making the "righteous of them, the highest divinity". Here the Atharvavedic seers made the most remarkable and successful attempt at widening the sphere of brahmanism by admiting and glorifying those who were outside it. It refers to a process of Aryanising the non-Aryans and their God by calling the latter *Eka-Vrātya* (Mahādeva). This is a clear change in the attitude of the orthodox tradition and the reformists of the Atharvaveda achieved a brilliant success not only in admiting the *Vrātyas*, but also in deifying them. In the Sāmaveda and the Yajurveda the *Vrātya*, appears in the list of the victims of the *Purushamedha*-sacrifice, but it is only in the Atharvaveda that an entire book has been devoted to sing the glorification of the *Vrātyas*.

As to the identity of the *Vrātyas* with the non-Vedic and non-Brahmanical people of India, we may suggest here that the *Vrātyas* were those non-Vedic Indians, whose main religious plank was the performance of the *Vrata*-rites as opposed to or distinguished from the performance of the Yajna rites of the early Vedic Aryans. In fact it is in the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra that the term *Vrātya* has been actually derived from *Vrata*[2]. We shall try to show that the *Vrātyas* were in reality the observers of the *Vrata*-rites.

Numerous are the *Vratas* or vowed observances performed even to-day in different parts of India, some of which are the '*śāstrīya-vratas*' i.e. sanctioned in the Brahmanical scriptures, while majority of them belong to the class of the '*aśāstrīya-vratas*' i e. not sanctioned in the scriptures. The former class of *Vratas* has been moulded and remoulded to suit the Brahmanical purpose, but still its primitive character remains unchanged. The latter class of *Vratas*, however, contains essentially primitive magical rites observed for the achievement of worldly prosperity. Most of the *Vratas* belonging to this class are, again, observed by woman folk, both married and un-married. Further these '*meyeli-Vratas*' contain the earlier remnants of the non-Brahmnical primitive traits.

The '*śāstrīya-vratas*' are described in some later Vedic texts, the Sūtras, the Smṛitis and the Purāṇas, but more details about these *Vratas* are to be found in the later socio-religious and socio-legal texts, more particularly in those that deal specically with the *Vratas*. Among such texts mention may be made of Vratakhaṇḍa and Chaturvargachintāmaṇi

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1. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, Vol. II. p. 46.
2. *S. B. E.*, Vol. II, pp. 118-119.

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of Hemādrī Vrata-kalpadruma of Ratnâkara, the Vrataprakāśa of Viśvanātha, the Dāyabhāga and Kālaviveka of Jimūtavāhana, the Karmānushṭhānapaddhati and Prāgaśchittaprakaraṇa of Bhaṭṭabhavadeva, etc. Of these works Hemādrī's Vratakhaṇḍa has been considered to be an authority on the Vratas by Mādhava in his Kālanirṇaya. Besides the Smṛiti digests of Bengal have also elaborately dealt with the *Vratas*. Of such works mention may be made of the Vratakālaviveka and the Vratatattva of Śūlapāni and Raghunandana, and also the Vratapaddhati of Rudradhara. But in principles and details all these works adhere mainly to the stand taken by the Purāṇas, from which they have derived the bulk of their materials. This long list of works dealing with the *Vratas* bear testimony to the fact that the *Vratas* were so popular that they formed the subject matter of a large number of early and later socio-religious thinkers. But it is in the Purāṇas that we find a detailed description of the *Vrata* rites. The Purāṇas are the result of the grand synthesis created by the acculturation of the Aryan and the non-Aryan cultural elements. It is the Purānic writers, who have taken the greatest pain in incoroporating the non-Brahmanical *Vrata*-rites with Brahmanism.

In the earlier texts the term *Vrata* has the peculiar sense of milk used by one, who is living on that beverage alone as a vow or penance.[1] In the Sūtras the term is used in the sense of a vow or a *saṁskāra* after the *upanayana*. The Purāṇas understand *Vrata* in the sense of *niyama* for the purpose of *tapas*.[2] The Purāṇas further classify *Vratas* into seven classes. but Hemādrī takes them to be of two varities, namely '*kāyika*' and '*mānasika*'.[3] Details of the injunctions, that are to be followed for the observance of the *Vrata*-rites, are also to be found in the Purāṇas.[4] In this connection it is very interesting to refer to general principle that no discrimination of caste and creed is to be made in the case of the observance of the *Vrata*-rites.[5] According to the commentary of Mitāksharā, the *Vratas* can be performed even by the Śūdras, but without the *homa* and the chanting of the *mantraṃs*. Similarly the Śūdrakamalākara allows the Śūdras to observe the *Vrata*-rites and fasts but without *homa* and *japa*.[6] This permission given to the Śūdras for the observance of the *Vrata*-

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1. Macdonell and Kieth, *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 341. The term occurs in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Panachaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, etc.

2. *Agni Purāṇa* (Baṅgavāsi Edition), p. 355 ; Dutta, *Agni Purāṇa*, p. 668.

3. Dutta *Agni Purāṇa*, p. 668.

4. Ibid.

5. *Matsya Purāṇa* (Baṅgavāsi Edition), p. 132 ; *Agni Purāṇa*, p. 355 ; *Skaṇḍa Purāṇa*, p. 304-5.

6. Kane, *History of the Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, p. 159.

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rites is, indeed, very significant. In reality the *Vratas* are of popular origin and even after their absorption within the Brhamnical fold with the addition of *homa* and *japa*, the *Śāstrakāras* could not but permit the Śūdras to observe the *Vrata*-rites, though usually the privilege of performing religious rites has been denied to them. Therefore, while giving this permission, they were very particular in enjoining that the Śūdras could perform the rites, but without *homa* and *japa*, which are purely Brahmanical characteristics. This certainly speaks in favour of the non-Brahmanical origin of the *Vratas*.

This is what we know of the '*śāstrīya-vratas*'. But the '*aśāstrīya-vratas*', which are not to be found described in the socio-religious or socio-legal texts, are those observed by the general people. These *Vratas* are replete with certain basic faiths and beliefs of the primitive folk life translated into rituals that are observed for material benefits. These rites have been current among the people from indeterminable times. They are the real folk rites representing traditions that may even go back to the pre-historic ages. These rites have little to do with *mukti* or salvation. They are observed for the fulfilment of wordly desires and for material prosperity. It is, again, in those *Vratas*, which are observed by the maidens, that we find the presence of real primitive magico-religious traits. A '*kumārī-vrata*' consits of '*āharaṇa* (collection of articles for the observance of the rite), the '*ālpanā*' (painting or drawing on the ground with liquid paste), in which one finds the reflection of the desires of the girls, the '*chhadā* (verses or songs or incantations uttered or chanted at the time of the observance), in which we have the expression of the desires of the maidens and, lastly, the *Kathā* (story or legend), which is a sort of justification for the rite or, in other words, an attempt to prove the efficacy of the rite observed. In these rites there is no place for the *mantra* or priest. The maidens gather together and observe the *Vrata*-rites for the fulfilment of their desires, namely to get themselves married to good husbands to get sons, to have wealth of all sorts and, lastly to lead a happy and prosperous worldly life. Such simple desires have always inspired the primitive folk to observe rites and practices, remnants of which are still to be found in the *Vrata*-rites. It is in these *Vratas*, again, that one can still clearly trace rites and practices, which are current among the people following primitive culture, rites and practices, which grew out of the hard socio-economic requirements of life and which are practised for the fulfilment of their material desires. That the *Vrata*-rites are nothing but the reflection of primitive magic becomes evident from their close similarity and inherent affinity; indeed the ideas and aspirations governing both are the same. The *Vrata*-rites are concerned with two fundamental instincts of human life – to live and to procreate. That is why most of the

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Vrata-rites are observed for securing a husband and obtaining children. Life requires food and wealth and the desire for obtaining these things finds expressions in a number of rites that are frankly for the supply of paddy and all other wealth. The desire for water manifests itself in the observance of rites dealing with water; when people want rain, they either spray or pour down water from a '*ghati*' or '*ghata*' (earthen jar or pitcher). Like primitive people the observers of the *Vrata*-rites believe that spraying or pouring of water as nature does would bring about the desired effect. Again, when they want ample paddy or grain to grow, they put grain or seed on a *sarā* (earthen plate) together with loose earth and pour water on it allowing the seed to sprout, with which they observe the required rite. Further, when they desire to protect paddy in the field from being turned into husk or to make the field yield more crops, they observe rites with '*tush*' (husk) and cowdung. Like primitive people the observers of the *Vrata*-rites are not satisfied with merely observing some rites, but also express their desire, as has been already indicated, through *chhaḍās* uttered or chanted during the observance of a particular rite and they believe that the words uttered have a magical potency. Like primitive people they have their desires reflected or represented in drawings and paintings on the ground, on which or in front of which, specific rites are performed for the fulfilment of their desires. They also associate with or ascribe to nature or natural objects superhuman or supernatural power in the same way as primitive people. Thus they have created deities like *Sandhyāmanī, Tush-tushlī, Bhāduli.* These are not Brahmanical gods and goddesses, but personified nature or natural phenomena or objects, in whose honour the rites are performed. *Sandhyāmanī* is no doubt, a deity presiding over dusk, and she is considered to be responsible for the change of the day into night. Similarly *Tush-tushlī* is a deity presiding over fertility of the soil. Lastly, it is to be noted that individual desires and individual rites can not be called pure *Vrata*-rites, though these are also observed for the fulfilment of desires. A *Vrata*-rite to be specifically called as such must be observed collectively by the people having the same emotions and feeling. Individual desire must have a collective basis. When one observes a *Vrata*-rite for the growth of paddy or for rain, the desire of the community finds expression in the observance of the said rite. The *Vrata*-rites are supposed to promote collective social prosperity. They are the attempts to protect the people of the community as a whole against all sorts of evils, to get the best out of the change of seasons and to have the attainment of worldly aspirations. In fact a *Vrata* involves the utterance and representation of a strongly felt desire or emotion, that is, the expression of a particular feeling through gestures and chanting of the *chhadās* and

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through drawings and paintings. All these features of the *Vratas* thus speak of their primitive and folk origin.

The *Vratas* are, in reality, observances of numerous rites and practices, which are essentially magical in character. They are the religious observances neither of the Aryans nor of later Brahmanism, but of the non-Aryans, whom the Aryans described as *Dāsas, Dasyus, Asuras* etc. It seems that the observers of the *Vrata*-rites were the *Vrātyas*, those non-Vedic Indians or non-Aryans, whose main religious ceremony was the performance of *Vrata*-rites, as distinguished from the *Yajña*-rites of the Vedic Aryans.

In this connection it will be interesting to refer to certain remarks made by the Aryans about these non-Aryan or non-Vedic Indians. Such remarks are full of ethnological significance. The non-Vedic Indians or the non-Aryans have been styled as *a-vrata, anya-vrata, a-vājin, i.e.* they were lawless followers of strange ordinances or rites and non-sacrificing. They have been further styled as *adēvayu, i.e.* indifferent to gods and *a-brāhmaṇa* or without any Brāhmaṇa. Here it may be pointed out that *Yajña* was the characteristic feature of the religion of the Vedic Aryans, while the pre-Vedic or the non-Aryan people did not perform any such sacrifices. Further, a suggestion has been made that in the *Vratya*-Book of the Atharvaveda we have the "presence of a Śiva cult quite different from the one presented by the Vedic word."[1] It can little be doubted that Śiva as a deity, particularly in the form of *Liṅga* is pre-Vedic and non-Aryan. It will also be interesting to refer to the early texts, where the *Asuras* have been described as *śiśnadēvāh* or the worshippers of the phallus. That the *Asuras* were really worshippers of the phallus is also proved by the discovery of many stone and terracotta *Liṅgams* in different *Asura* sites of Chhotanagpur.[2] A reference to the relevant findings of the Indus valley culture and the place of *Śiva-liṅga* in the *Vrata*-rites is also very significant. Another characteristic feature of the *Vrātya* religion is the cattle worship, which appears to be foreign to the Rigvedic Aryans. That cattle worship played a very important part in the *Vrātya-Asura* culture is borne out by the prominence given to the cattle in the *Vrātyashṭoma* sacrifice. That cattle worship was an important element of the *Asura* culture is further proved by the discovery of many figures of the bull (symbolical of reproductive energy) in many *Asura* sites of Chhotanagpur.[3] In the *Vratas*, too, cattle worship plays a very important part and there are some *Vrata*-rites actually named after the

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1. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, Vol. I. p. 46.
2. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol XII, p. 147.
3. *Ibid.*

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cattle *e.g. Gokul-Vrata.* Brahmanism borrowed this cattle worship from the pre-Vedic Indians.[1] The pre-Vedic Indians, more particularly the *Asuras*, have been described as *māyinaḥ*. Sāyana interprets it as *kuṭilāḥ*. He also says, "*māyinaḥ-māyāvantaḥ-asurāḥ*.[2] Thus the *Asuras* have been called magicians. This is of great significance. Reference is here invariably made to the magical rites and practices performed by the non-Vedic Indians. In this connection it will also be interesting to note that the essence of the non-Vedic or pre-Vedic religion is surcharged with magic. The Atharvavedic hymns throw further light on the lore of the *Vrātyas* regarding exorcism, magic, *nāga* and tree worship. Lastly, reference may be made to the wide ethnological investigations, which reveal that the essence of pre-Vedic religion was magic. This religion consisted in reverence paid to trees and plants, phallus and fertility cults, magalithic cults and ancestor worhip, matter cult, totemistic and animistic cults, cults of the heavenly bodies, etc. The *Vrata-rites* of to-day embody all these features of the pre-Vedic religious cults—the *anya-vratas* of the non-Aryans as described in the Vedic texts. A reference is also to be made to the very important fact that the observance of the *Vrata-rites* requires no priest for the chanting of the *mantras* or for the performance of the *homa* and the pre-Vedic Indians or the non-Aryans have been actually described as a-*brāhmaṇa*. All these facts undoubtedly suggest the non-Aryan or non-Vedic origin of the *Vratas* of to-day.

Here it will be interesting to make an attempt to correlate the terms *Vrata, Vrāta, Varaṇa* with the terms *Vrātya*. The term *Vrata* is derived from the root *vṛ* meaning to secure, to cover, to encompass, to surround, to envelop, to restrain, to ward off, to encircle, etc. *Vrata* is, most probably, an old past passive participle from the root *vṛi*. It means any encircled or enclosed place, ordinance, etc. These basic root meanings correspond to the different features of the *Vrata*. Certain very important *Vrata*-rites are actually observed in enclosed places *i.e.* on *ālpanās* or drawings, paintings or mystic diagrams and the avowed object of the observer is to envelop, cover and ward off evil spirits and to secure the best material benefits or, in other, words to practise magical rites. These drawings or paintings are like the *Tantric* diagrams, which are considered to be very efficacious in the operation. Rites observed in enclosed places with such motives are nothing but *Vratas*. *Vrata* signifying vowed observance or ordinance was a later adaptation by the Brahmaṇas. When

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1. *Man in India*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 232.

2. Griffith. *Atharvaveda*, XIX, 66. 1 ; Deshmukh *Origin and Development of Religion in Vedic Literature*, pp. 364-66.

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the Rigvedic Aryans designated the pre-Vedic Indians as *a-vrata* or *anya-Vrata*, presumably reference was made to the observers of the *Vratā-rites*, which were foreign to them. In this connection it will also be profitable to refer to the term *Vraṇa* derived from the same root *vṛi*. *Vraṇa* means the act of scaring off, covering, etc. Again, it is the name of a particular formula. These are the essential traits of the *Vratas* as well. Reference may also be made to the chanting of the magical spells in the course of the observance of the *Vratas*. Even to-day in many parts of India *Varaṇa* is done by women-folk in all socio-religious rites and practices of magical import. It can, thus, be stated that *Varaṇa* is a part of the *Vrata*-rites. Similarly the term *Vrāta* is also to be derived from the root *vṛi* meaning one who belongs to a folk, a group, a band or multitude or one who moves in a group. *Vrātas* also signify roving bands or vagrants.[1] In the Rigveda and Atharvaveda the term has been used in the sense of troops.[2] But the real meaning of the term becomes clear from Patañjali, who says,

> *"Nānā jātīyāḥ amiyata-vṛittayaḥ*
> *Utsedha-jivinaḥ saṅghāḥ vrātāḥ"*[3]

'The *Vrātas* belong to various groups or classes of people with no fixed profession and living by violence only.' According to the commentators those who live by bodily labour are called *Vrātinaḥ*.[4] Here is a clear reference to those pre-Vedic Indians, who were mostly nomads roving in bands and living by violence. It may, further, be assumed that *Vrātas* were those non-Vedic or non-Aryans, who observed the *Vrata*-rites as well. Thus, if it is accepted that all the terms *Vrata*, *Vrāta* and *Varaṇa* are derived from the root '*vṛ*', it becomes clearer that those who performed *Vrata*-rites and whose way of life was that of a *Vrāta* were known as *Vrātyas*. *Vrātya* is, thus, a cultural term meaning a way of life characterised by distinct religious cults and practices which are to be associated with the non-Vedic or non-Aryan people in general and the Asuras in particular.[5] It appears that all those who belonged to the *Vrātya* community were the observers of the *Vratas*.

That these *Vrātyas* belonged to the non-Aryan or the non-Brahmanical

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1. Kane, *History of the Dharamaśāstra*, Vol. II, p. 41.

2. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 341. We have also a reference to *Vrāta-pati*, *i.e.* lord of troops.

3. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, p. 313.

4. *Ibid.*

5. A suggestion has been made by Dr. Karmarkar that the *Vratyas* were in fact the people of Mohenjodaro. See Karmarkar, *The Religions of India*, p. 26.

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community becomes further apparent from certain other descriptions. According to the *Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa* those who led the *Vrātya* way of life were reduced to a baser state.[1] Manu, however, specifically points out that to 'live as a *Vrātya* does is an offence.'[2] This suggests that the *Vrātyas* belonged to the non-Brahmanical community. The *Vrātyas* have been further described as not observing *brahmacharya*, tilling the soil or engaging in trade. That they were outside the Brahmanical fold becomes further clear from the statement of Vishṇu, who includes the *Vrātyas* in the list of persons to be always avoided. Vishṇu has further enjoined that no gift or food is to be taken from them.[3] It has been again upheld that gods do not eat food offered by the *Vrātyas*.[4] It is because of the fact that the *Vrātyas* did not belong to the Brahmanical community that they have been recommended to be included in the list of victims of the *Purushameda* sacrifice.[5]

These *Vrātyas* are again to be particularly associated with the eastern region, a land par-excellance of the non-Aryans in the earlier days of the Vedic period. Even in the Atharvaveda Māgadha has been described as a friend of the *Vrātya*.[6] Besides, the Śrauta-sūtras enjoin that after the performance of the *Vrātyashṭoma*, the *Vrātya* shall bestow all his belonging on an inferior Brahmin of Māgadha.[7] In fact Prof. Chanda has pointed that in Bihar even to-day it is possible to recognise the representatives of the Brahmins, who were originally priests of the primitive *Vrātyas*.[8] These easterners have been referred to in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as *Asuras*, whose descedants are the Māgadhas, Vaṅgas, etc. Here it is worth noting that the Aryanisation of eastern India began only in the later Vedic period. Even as late as the time of Baudhāyana the eastern region, the habitat of the Māgadhas, Vaṅgas, etc., was considered impure, because of its being outside the pale of Brahmanical culture or, in other words, because of its being the land of the non-Aryans, and anybody traversing the region had to perform certain purificatory rites after his

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1. Kane, *History of the Dharmasastra*, Vol. II, p 385 ; For other non-Aryan characteristics of the *Vrātyas* see Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol, I, p. 481 ; *S. B. E.* Vol. XXV. pp. 37, 405-7 ; Vol. VII, p. 115 ; Vol. XX. p. 406, etc.

2. *S. B. E.* Vol. XXV, p. 442.

3. *S. B. E.* Vol. VII, p. 186-7.

4. Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 40.

5. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, pp. 342-44.

6. *Ibid* p. 116 ; *Atharvaveda*, XV. 2. 1. 4 ; Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 79.

7. *A. V.* Vol. VIII, pp. 6. 28 ; Vol. XXII, pp. 4, 22 ; *Proceedings of I. H. Congress*, 1946, p. 107.

8. Chanda, *Indo Aryan Raçes*, p. 164. These are the Gayalas of Gaya. Bhabans, etc.

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return.[1] But it would be wrong to suggest that the *Vrātyas* dwelt only in the eastern region. The Atharvaveda informs us that "they are in every direction." But the east was the stronghold of the *Vrātya Asura* culture.[2]

In course of time the *Vrata*-rites, the cult of the *Vrātyas*, were assimilated within the fold of Brahmanism and remnants of it are still found in the lower strata of the socio-religious observances of to-day. Even the *śāstrīya vratas*, which have been sanctioned in the scriptures, have passed through different stages of transformation before they got a Brahmanical stamp. In some cases attempts were made to veil them with the injunctions of the Smṛitis and the Purāṇas. Such attempts became successful, when new-Brahmanism in the Gupta period began to create new deities, sometimes to replace the older ones, but very often to assimilate them along with their rituals and also to correlate them with the new deities created by it. Attempts were also made to transform the primitive deities and their rituals in conformity with the Brahmanical pattern. It was a process of constant absorption and assimilation of the earlier socio-religious rites and practices. It was clearly laid down that the native customs, that are contrary to the basic principles of the *Dharma* might be accepted and practised. But in spite of the wonderful assimilative power of Hinduism and the proselytising activities of the Brahmans, the *Vratas* and many other socio-religious rites and practices have succeeded in retaining their separate entity. It must be admitted that though some of the external features of the *Vratas*-rites have been either changed or influenced from outside, yet the basic traits remain even to-day unaltered. They have persisted through the ages in spite of the infiltration of many alien ideas. In fact the *Vratas* of to-day are the living records of the socio-religious rites and practices of the people, whom the Aryans absorbed.

It was a result of this process of Aryanisation and Brahmanisation that the *Vrātyas* were included within the Brahamnical fold and their cult the *Vrāta*-rites assimilated. Diverse procedures were followed to bring the *Vrātyas* within the Brahmanical fold. One of such procedures was the performance of the purificatory rites, the most important one of which has been actually named after the *Vrātyas i.e. Vrātyashṭoma.* A detailed account of this purificatory sactrifice is to be found in the *Tāṇḍiya-mahābrāhmana*, the *Sūtras* the *Smṛtis* and in such other works as the *Vratyas śuddhisaṁgraha.* A critical study of the passages occurring in these texts dealing with the performance of the rite throws considerable light on the character of the

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1. Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 40.

2. It has been suggested by Barua that the *Vratyas* were the non-Vedic Alpines with fair complexion, prominent nose, etc., primarily of the East. See *I. C.* Vol. III, pp. 166-67.

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Vrātyas and their conversion to the Brahmanical fold. There were different forms of the *Vratyashṭoma* sacrifice meant for different classes of the *Vrātyas*. Originally this sacrifice was to be performed for the conversion of the non-Aryans only, but later on it was also performed for the re-admission of the fallen or degarded into the Brahmanical fold. It is very interesting to note in this connection that even in modern times "persons born in western countries have been taken into the Hindu fold by the performance of the *Vrātyashṭoma*".[1] As to the performance of the *Vrātyashṭoma* sacrifice we are told in the *Lāṭyāyana Sūtra* that there should be at least thirty three *Vrātyas* performing the sacrifice and that they should select the most learned or the richest among them as the *Gṛihapati*. It has been further laid down that all such persons should take their food after their chief.[2] The commentator insists that there should be at least thirty three communities. The *Vrātyashṭoma* thus appears to be a sort of collective purificatory rite. It reminds us of the present day *Śuddhi* ceremony, which is also but a collective purificatory rite for the mass conversion of the non-Hindus to the Hindu fold. The *Vrātya śuddhī-saṃgraha* further enjoins that the *Vrātyashṭoma* is to be performed with *laukika-agni*.[3] This *laukika-agni* apparently refers to the ordinary fire used by the people as distinguished from the sacrificial fire of the Brahmanical rites. It is by performing this sacrifice that a *Vrātya* becomes a full-fledged member of Brahmanical society. Thus it has been clearly laid down that a *Vrātya* ceases to be *Vrātya* by the performance of the *Vrātyashṭoma* sacrifice. This enables such a *Vrātya* to have social intercourse even with the Brahmanas Accordingly, it has been laid down that "when such sacrifices are performed, the *Vrātyas* having secured the rights and privileges of the *dvijas* or the first three castes, may afterwards learn the Vedas, perform sacrifices, make presents (to the Brahmanas) and the Brahmaṇas may teach them the Vedas, perform sacrifices for them and receive presents at their hands and even dine with them, without being required to submit to penance".[4] Thus the rights and privilges, which were previously denied to the *Vrātyas*, were granted to them after they had gone through the purificatory rites meant for their conversion. Further, the Śrauta-sūtras enjoin that after the performance of the *Vrātyashṭoma* a *Vrātya* should bestow all his belongings upon one, who has not yet given up the *Vrātya* practice.[5] So it is clear that the converted *Vrātya* gives up all his belongings and habits of his previous life. This is

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1. Kane, *History of the Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pp. 391-92.
2. *Ibid*, p. 387. 3. *Ibid*.
4. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XIX, p. 359.
5. *P. I. H. Congress*, 1940, p. 108.

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undoubtedly a direct hint at the conversion of the *Vrātyas*. The performance of the *Vrātyashṭoma* sacrifice makes a *Vrātya* the holy of the holiest, the representative of the Brahman. The converted *Vrātya* was given the most honoured place in society.

It was as the result of a long continued process of Brahmanisation that the *Vrātyas* were included within Brahmanical society and their cult the *Vratya*-rites assimilated. This assimilation of the magico-religious rites and practices of the *Vrātyas* began as early as the Atharvavedic period and was almost complete by the time when the major Purāṇas were compiled. As a result of the process of Brahmanisation, the pre-Vedic cults and practices, in a word, their whole cultural heritage, passed into the Brahmanical build and were transformed and re-transformed through centuries. In this process of Brahmanisation the chief traits of the *Vrātya* religion gradually became obscure and at present they are disappearing before the onslaught of modern life. But in the remoter villages, away from modern civilisation, amongst the lower orders of the society, the pre-Vedic cults and practices still survive, though in much modified forms. Remnants of the old *Vrātya* cults of the pre-Vedic Indians are to be found even to-day in different forms in many socio-religious rites and practices, particularly in those observed by women-folk. In fact most of the *Vrāta*-rites performed by women-folk in different parts of India have not yet been built into the 'temple of Hinduism' and even to-day they contain much of the pre-Vedic *Vrātya* cultural traits.

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Old Records in Assam Secretariat

By

K. N. Dutt, M.A., B.L.

[This paper deals with the composition of the records available in the Assam Secretariat for the period 1823—1874. They consist of the correspondence which passed between the Chief Commissioner of Assam on the one hand and the Governments of India and Bengal and the district officers in Assam on the other. These records form a highly valuable source material for a delailed history of Assam for that period. Besides revealing the consolidation of British power and administrative machinery, they throw interesting side light on the composition of the population, the growth of economic activity and the potentiality for economic exploitation of that part of the country. —*Ed.*]

The 'Old Records' in the Assam Secretariat belong to the period from 1823 to 1874 and comprise the correspondence exchanged between the Agent to the Governor General of India on the North-east Frontier (who was also appointed Commissioner of Assam after British occupation of that part of country) and the Government of India, the Government of Bengal including the Board of Revenue for the Lower Provinces, the District Officers of Assam and other miscellaneous officers and authorities. Some of the correspondence necessarily forms part of the Political Proceedings, Secret Proceedings, etc. of the Government of India and the Government of Bengal. Assam came into British hands by virtue of the treaty of Yandabu of February 24, 1826, which brought the First Anglo-Burmese War to a close. The records of the previous three years from 1823, found deposited in the archives of the Government of Assam, refer to certain correspondence bearing on the earlier manifestations of hostility by the Burmese to the British on the Eatern Frontier, viz. Cachar, Manipur and Jaintia, which culminated in the First Anglo-Burmese War. David Scott, who was then staying at Sylhet as Commissioner of Rangpur and Agent to the Governor General on the North-east Frontier, later brought these papers with him to Assam and they thus constitute the starting point of Assam records under British administration.

British administrators of Assam took sufficient care to preserve the records of their offices in as complete a manner as possible. These very records show that early steps were taken for the construction of a Record Room at Gauhati, which was the headquarter of the Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General in the North-east Frontier. Any carelessness on the part of District officers in the proper maintenance of the records of the district was censured. The old records have been preserved

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in bound volumes as well as in bundles and files. The total number of volumes is now 400 and that of files and bundles 907. The great mass of these records is in manuscript, only an infinitesimal portion thereof being in print. The hand-writing of these documents bears testimony to the excellent penmanship of the writers of those days, when the type-writing machine had not been invented. English writers appointed in the offices were required to have special proficiency in writing and even Englishmen held such posts. The volumes generally contain letters received from or issued to different quarters. A few volumes contain Notes, Diaries, Precis or Circulars. While the letters received have been preserved in their originals, the regular series of 'letters issued' contain only copies entered into registers maintained for the purpose. There are some 'rough drafts' volumes of 'letters issued'. These are the original drafts a large number of which appear to have been penned and initialled by the Commissioners, Jenkins and Hopkinson. The drafts, which are available, agree with the copies entered in the registers, which constitute the regular series of letters issued. There is generally one volume for each year, the letters being arranged in chronological order, but occasionally the letters for a particular year are spread over two or more volumes and letters for two or more years have been bound together in one volume. The volumes are folio volumes generally of the F. 6. size, but there are some measuring 18″×10″ or even more, and these are quite bulky. Pagination of the volumes does not exist except in the case of volumes of some series. Ordinarily a volume contains 3 to 4 hundred pages. There are also volumes containing 6 hundred or more pages.

The value of the 'Old Records' can hardly be over-estimated. They reveal the early story not only of the formation, growth and development of the modern state of Assam and its administration, but also focus a flood of light on many matters such as the composition of the population and its habitat, the progress of the people in different fields of life and activity etc. The 'Old Records' are thus valuable source materials for a detailed history of Assam for the period to which they relate or, in general terms, for the nineteenth century. But more than anything else these records throw interesting light on the evolution of British policy—both administrative and political—in Assam and the North-east Frontier of India. After its annexation in 1826 the province of Assam was constituted into a division of Bengal and placed in the administrative charge of a Commissioner, who also happened to be the Agent to the Governor General of India on the North-east Frontier, controlling the political relations of the British Government with the neighbouring states and chiefs of border tribes.

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It was in 1874 that Assam was constituted a separate province under a Chief Commissioner and thence onward it remained a distinct unit of the British empire in India except for a short space of six years from 1905 to 1911, when it was united with East Bengal to form the Lieut. Governor's province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. During the period when Assam was ruled by a British Commissioner under the government of Bengal, the province experienced several changes in its boundaries and territories. The records under review show the successive stages in the growth of the province and the manner in which the border tribes and states entered into agreements or treaty relations with the British government, were absorbed in the province by subjugation and annexation or brought under political control. David Scott, whose name is inseparably connected with the establishment of British rule in Assam, was the first Commissioner of the province and Agent to the Governor General of India on the North-east Frontier. After his death in August, 1831, W. Cracroft acted in his place for a few months till T. C. Robertson succeeded him in April next year. In 1834, Captain Francis Jenkins succeeded Robertson, who later became Deputy Governor of Bengal. Captain Jenkins served this province for over 25 years till 1861 and his able hand is seen in giving shape to, and effecting improvements in, this newly acquired territory of the British empire. In 1861 Jenkins, then a Colonel, was succeeded by Colonel Henry Hopkinson, who continued till 1874, when Col. R. H. Keatinge took over charge from him as the first Chief Commissioner of Assam. Col. Haughton and Major Agnew officiated for short terms in place of Col. Hopkinson, when the latter went on leave. It is to be noted that all the officers then serving in Assam were Commissioned Officers of the army holding civil employment and the province was governed as a non-regulation province.

These early years of Assam's direct contact with the British were also the years during which the region was brought to the knowledge of the outside world and the beginnings of modern administration laid down. The series of reports that were compiled during this period relating to the topography of the region its flora and fauna, its mineral resources, its political and administrative organisation, its trade routes and commercial possibilites and its problems and significance as a part of the British empire in India, are of great historical value and form part of the records under review. Such are the annual administrative reports, reports on the various hill tribes and expeditions led into the hills, reports on the frontier and military campaigns, reports on the judicial and revenue administration, reports on education and development of communications, journals of tours of officers in the hills and plains, reports of exploratory missions in various direction etc.

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It was also during these years that Assam faced the risk of losing her identity as a separate and distinct cultural and linguistic unit, when Bengali was made the language of her courts and schcols in 1837 by the British authorities under the impression that Assamese and Bengali were one and the same language. The records illumine the controversy that raged over the language question for over two decades ending in 1871 in the restoration of Assamese, by order of the Lt. Governor of Bengal, Sir George Campbell, to its rightful place in the courts and schools of Assam. The official correspondence on the issue is spread over several volumes from 1862 to 1873 and is also to be found in separate files. There are other matters of historical interest and importance such as the growth of the tea industry and foreign investments in Assam, utilisation of its waste lands and exploitation of forest and mineral resources, liquidation of the old royal houses and feudal nobility of the Anom's, rebellions and resistance movements, spread of English education, development of new towns, growth of military stations, river ports, etc., on which also these records throw interesting and illuminating light.

There are also series of records that throw light on Indo-Bhutanese and Indo-Tibetan relations and relations of the British government with the states of Cooch Behar and Manipur. Besides these the affairs of the Bijni and Sidli estates in Goalpara and of the Darrang Raj family also figure prominently in these records. The historical investigator will, thus, find a virgin field for research in these archives.

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Some Characteristic Features of the Old Iranian Political Philosophy

By

J. DVORNIK

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[The writer holds that the old Iranians did not regard their kings and chieftains as beings of a divine nature, but rather believed them to be invested with Hrarena, "the awful royal glory"—a concrete and shining manifestation of light—which, originally a characteristic of the gods came later to be possessd by kings also. The concept, originating in the very remote past of the Indo-European race; seems to have been current among many Aryan people but the Iranians seem to have been the only people to develop it into a definite system and to weave it into their religious pattern. Zoroaster tried to, adapt this idea to his religious system, but without success. 'Hvarena', at a later date, influenced the Hellenistic and Roman political philosophies and was responsible for the close resemblance between the Iranian and the Hellenistic and Roman ideas of kingship.—*Ed.*]

To ascertain the characteristic features of the old Iranian ideas on kingship is a most difficult task. The problem is intimately connected with the prehistory of the whole Indo-European race and has hardly been touched by anthropologists and other specialists. Lack of historical evidence makes it almost impossible to arrive at a satisfactory and convincing result. As concerns the Iranians we possess some historical evidence only from some Greek writers, especially Herodotus. Ctesias' work on Persia, written about 300 B.C., is lost with the exception of some fragments preserved by Nicolas of Damascus.[1] From Dinon's work on Persia—fourth century B.C.—only a few fragments survived, quoted by younger writers, specially Athenaeus. Some useful information is found in Xenophon's works, although in idealized form.

Then, in order to secure a solid basis for a research on old Iranian polity, it would be important to see to what extent Iranian ideas on kingship were influenced by the political theories which the Persians had found in Assyria, in Babylonia and in Egypt. The native religious element has also to be considered. The rise of the Medes and Persians

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1. See the short but well outlined critical review of the main Greek sources to Persian history in E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* (Stuttgart. 1937), V. III, pp. 128-31. Cf. also Carl Clemen, "Die Griechischen und Lateinischen Nachrichten uber die Persische Religion," *Religionsgerchichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, (Giessen; 1920), V. XVII. For a critical appreciation of Herodotus, Strabo, Theopompus and Plutarch on Persian religion, consult E. Benveniste, *The Persian Religion* (Paris, 1929), pp. 22-117.

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was accompanied by a most fascinating religious movement inaugurated by Zoroaster. For the first time in human history there appeared an original religious thinker who preached the belief in a God-Ahura Mazda—who was not a national deity but a universal Being and was to be worshipped, not merely by one nation or one city state, but by all men. Zoroaster's religious system breaks in many ways with the religion of the forefathers, and must have influenced profoundly the old Iranian ideas on kingship.

Unfortunately, of Zarathustra's original work very little is left—some of his hymns, the *Gathas*. A few *Yashts*—although not Zoroastrian, but of olden date—reflect ancient Iranian beliefs and are of considerable interest for our investigation. The Persian sacred book, the Zend Avesta, which contains the *Gathas* and the *Yashts* together with other sacred writings, is a work by many contributors editing it from the Achaemenid period to that of the Sassanian dynasty (third century A.D.). Some evidence is available from archaeological sources, especially statues and effigies of kings. There are some inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings, but they are rare and some of them are too short to be of value for our purpose. We cannot, therefore, go closely into all the details or dare an attempt to solve this problem. A few observations concerning old Iranian ideas on kingship will, nevertheless, not be out of place.

There is no reliable evidence to show that the old Iranians had regarded their kings and chieftains as beings of a divine nature. As far as we can conclude from some passages scattered throughout the *Gathas*, the oldest part of Zend Avesta containing Zoroaster's own religious writings and from the oldest *Yashts*, after the Iranian tribes had settled on the eastern Iranian plateau, they were governed by chiefs called "Kavis", who also performed certain sacred functions. Among the primitive Aryans, the word itself seems always to have denoted the performance of a religious rite.[1] It signifies a kind of priestly kingship, although priests —*karapans, usigs*—are also mentioned by Zoroaster. These latter names can designate different classes of priests, or perhaps priestly families. All these priestly classes, according to Zoroaster, were hostile to the preaching of his new gospel.

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1. See H.S. Nyberg, "Die Religionen des Alten Iran," *Mitteilungen der Norderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzin, 1938), Vol. XLIII, pp. 48-51. *The Gathas*, XXXII, pp. 12-15; XLIV, p. 20, XLVI, II, p. 14; XLVIII, p 10; LI, pp. 14, 16; LIII, p 2. A new translation of the *Gathas* is given by J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Zoroastre, etude critique avec une traduction commentee des Gathas," *Les Dieux et les Hommes* (Paris, 1948), Vol. II.

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Such a political organization existed in East Iran; but we can presume that the chieftains of the western Iranian tribes exercised similar political and religious functions. The titles of these chieftains were, however, different in East and West Iran. It appears that the title of "Kavi" was of East Iranian origin. The West Iranians called their chiefs "Chshayathiyas." The title of 'Dahyupati"—"chief of the land"—seems to be a Persian word. On the other hand, the official title of the Persian dynasty of the Achaemenids, "King of kings"—"Chshayathiya chshayathiya-nam," whence the modern Persian royal title of "Shah" is derived—is of Median origin[1] and was first used by the kings of Media. Thus the oldest known official kingly titles show that the primitive Iranian tradition, as far as it can he followed in historical documents, knew nothing of a divine character of kingship.

This seems to be further confirmed by the original Iranian mythical tradition. In the Zend Avesta we find some legends which recall the Sumerian myths on the origin of kingship, but which differ from them in one essential respect : the first kings on earth were not gods, but men regarded as heroes, gifted with immortality, but nevertheless men. According to the old Aryan myth preserved in the oldest part of Zend Avesta, the first king was Yima. In the first part of the sacred book, the Yasna IX, 3-5,[2] Yima is described as "brilliant...the most glorious of men who were sent into the world, one of the men whose sight was like that of the sun. .." In this passage he is depicted as the king of the golden age when men did not die and everything prospered.

In another version of the myth[3] Yima is connected in a rather confused way with the deluge and the end of the world. Acting upon instructions given by Ahura Mazda, Yima constructed a huge "var", a subterranean fortress, where he gathered together specimens of all animals and plants and men. He governs this sheltering realm with the object that when the world has been destroyed, the life which he has preserved will again repopulate the earth.[4]

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1. Cf. H. S. Nyberg, *Dis Religion des Alten Iran* loc. cit. pp. 57, 344 seq.

2. L.H. Mills, "Zend Avesta" Part III (*The Sacred Books of the East*, loc, cit., Vol. XXXI), p. 232. Cf. also *Yasht* XIX, 31-8. J. Darmesteter. "The Zend Avesta", Part II (*The Sacred Books etc.*, loc. cit., Vol. XXIII, 1883), pp. 293 seq.

3. Videvat. ch. II, J. Darmesteter, "The Zend Avesta," Pant I (*The Sacred Books*, loc. cit., Vol. IV, 1889), pp. 10 seq. Cf. also H. Lommel, Dip Yast's desA westa (Cottingen, Leipzig, 1927). pp, 196 seq , translation pp. 203-7. See also E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and His World* (Princetom. 1947), Vol. I. pp. 309-39.

4. The myth evidently confuses the tradition of paradise and of the flood. Cf. E Hervfeld, *Zoroaster and Aia World*, loc., p. 339.

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The Yima myth Gayomard—different from that of the "Urmensch" —must have been very popular with the Iranians. Zoroaster displayed a pronounced hostility towards it,[1] but he did succeed in deleting it from the memories of the Iranians. It appeared, as stated, in two versions in the sacred book of his followers after his death.

Yima is said to have been the son of Vivasvant, the sun-god. In spite of this he is also said to have been the first man. This connection between the sun-god and the first man and king might lead us to a clearer understanding of another characteristic Iranian conception of kingship—"the awful royal glory" or "Hvarena" (Hvarnah), with which Iranian kings were believed to be endowed.

What is the kingly glory of Indian belief ? The Hvarena is mentioned frequently in the *Yashts*. The greater part of the *Yasht* XIX is devoted to the praise of Hvarena, or rather of those who possessed it. The "awful kingly glory" was created by Ahura Mazda.[2] It is depicted as "most conquering, highly working, that possess health, wisdom and happiness, and is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures."[3] The Hvarena belongs first of all to Ahura Mazda as "(through it) Ahura Mazda made the creatures, many and good, many and fair, many and prosperous, many and bright." It belongs also to all the gods, especially to Mithra.[4] It was given by Ahura Mazda to all the heroes and "Kavis" of the Iranian myths, all of them being enumerated in the *Yasht* XIX. It was given by Ahura Mazda to all Aryan rulers. It made the ruler a lawful king and how it affected the lawful kings is described in the praise of Vishtaspa, the first "Kavi" to give political support to Zoroaster and his new religion.[5] It "clave unto king Vishtaspa, so that he thought

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1. Yasna XXXII, 8, J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Zoroaster*, p. 177; L.H. Mills, loc. cit., p. 61 *The Sacrad Books*, v. XXXI). The Indians have a similar myth but the Indian Yama became a god of death Cf f. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Zoroaster* pp 30 seq. The problem of the mythical "Urmensch"—first men—was thoroughly studied by A. Christense, "Le premier Homme et le premier Roi dans l'histoire legendaire des Iraniens," *Archives Lundall*, Vol. XIV, 1918. See especially pp. 9-101 on the giant Gayomard and the first human pair, Masyag and Masyanag. Cf., however, R Reitzenstein's and H. Schaeder,s corrections of and additions to Christensen's study in "Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland" *Studien der Bibliother Warburg*, v. VII, Leipzig, Berlin, 1926), pp 3-37, esp. 205-39.

2. Sirozah, I, 9, 25 ; II, 9, 26, J. Darmesteter, (*The Sacred Books*, v. XXIII), pp. 7, 8, 11, 15, 19. Yasht XII 4 Ibid., p 170.

3. Yasht XIX, 9. 10, Ibid.; pp. 289 seq.

4. Yasht X, Ibid. pp. 119 seq., repeatedly praises Mithra's 'brightness and glory." Behind Mithra's chariot drives Atar, the genius of fire, "all in a blaze, and the awful kingly glory." (Yasht X; 127, Ibid , p 153.)

5. Yasht XIX, 84, Ibid., p. 306.

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according to the Law, spake according to the Law and did according to the Law; so that he professed that Law, destroying his foes and causing the *Daevas* (evil spirits) to retire."

From all these descriptions of the Hvarena we can conclude with confidence that the Iranian conceived it as a concrete and shining apparition of light. This impression is conveyed with particular emphasis in the description of Mithra's splendid attire "driving forward from the shining Garô-mâna (paradise) in a beautiful chariot.....ever swift, adorned with all sorts of ornaments and made of gold." Four white heavenly stallions draw the chariot "on one golden wheel with a full shining axle." It was followed by the blazing spirit of fire and by the kingly glory. Such a description would fit a sun-god. In the same *Yasht*, Mithra seems to be identified in some way with the sun.[1] It is known that he was worshipped locally in Iran as sun-god.[2] He was indeed, a very popular god with the Iranians before Zoroaster. Some communities had regarded Mithra as superior to Varuna, who has to be identified with Ahura Mazda.[3] Therefore the special connection of the Hvarena with Mithra can be easily understood. Mithra was accompanied by Verethragna who was the bearer of the Hvarena. Only after Zoroaster's teaching had been accepted by communities of eastern Iran who worshipped Mithra as their supreme god was the creation of the Hvarena attributed to Zoroaster's Ahura Mazda and Mithra was then also made a creation of the supreme god.

The connection of the Hvarena with the sun-god and its nature as the appearance of a bright light[4] are also strongly suggested by the might of Yima, who is represented as son of the sun-god. He was the first man on earth in possession of the Hvarena. Later tradition added two predecessors to Yima as king. In the original saga, however, Yima seems to have been regarded as the first and only king of the whole earth.[5] But even in the new "edition" of the myth, Yima was the last of three legendary kings who had possessed the Hvarena in visible form. The visible Hvarena

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1. *Yasht* X, pp. 124, 125, 136, 142, 143; Ibid., pp. 152, 155, 157. Mithra was actually god of light and of the warm sunshine. His rays gave life to all living things. As god of light penetrates everywhere, he was said to have a thousand eyes and a thousand ears.

2. H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des Alten Iran*, pp. 60, 385.

3. See H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des Alten Iran*, pp. 99. seq. Cf. also what J. Duchesne—Guillemin (*Zoroaster*, loc cit., pp. 89 seq) says on Mithra.

4. In *Yasht* VI, 1, J Darmesteter, *loc. cit.*, p. 86, the glory seems to be symbolized as the shining of sun and and in *Yasht* VII, p. 3; Ibid, p. 90, as a radiance from the moon and stars and sometimes from the sun. From the translation it is, however, not clear what kind of "glory" is meant in those passages.

5. This was once again shown more recently by E. Herzfeld *Zoroaster and His World*, *loc.* cit., pp. 309-39, esp. p. 324.

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entitled them to rule over the whole earth and over all Daevas (evil spirits) and mortals. It made them free from illness and death.[1] "But when Yima began to find delight in words of falsehood and untruth, the glory was seen to flee away from him in the shape of a bird." (Yasht XIX, 34). From that time onward kings possessed the Hvarena only in invisible form and therefore they were not as powerful against the Daevas and mortals as the first legendary kings.

Sometimes the Hvarena was believed to become visible again. We can recall in this connection what Xenophon reports in his panegyric on Cyrus.[2] In describing the war which Cyrus waged against the Assyrians, he writes: "As they (the Persians) proceeded, night came on, and it is said that a light from heaven shone forth upon Cyrus and his army, so that they were all filled with awe at the miracle but with courage to meet the enemy." The legendary report can be interpreted only in connection with the Hvarena.

Another similar report on Cyrus is preserved by Cicero[3] from Dinon's Persian annals of dreams: "Once upon a time Cyrus dreamed that the sun was at his feet. Three times, so Dinon writes, he vainly tried to grasp it and each time it turned away, escaped him and finally disappeared. He was told by the magi, who are classed as wise and learned men among the Persians, that his grasping for the sun three times portended that he would reign for thirty years." Interpreted in the above connection, it would mean that Cyrus would be in possession of the Hvarena for thirty years. The Hvarena is believed to have appeared in this case in visible form and is again here brought into the closest connection with the sun.

The notion of Hvarena is thus an old Aryan conception and seems to have been common to other Aryan nations. One kind of Hvarena was mentioned by Herodotus[4] when he recorded that the kings of the Scythians of Aryan race, were all successors of Paradata, the founder of Scythian kingship, who, although the youngest of his brothers, was the only to capture the glowing gold which represented the kingship—again a concrete appearance of light—and which came to him from heaven.

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1. This is how J. Hertel ("Die Awestische Herrschaft und Svegentener," *Abhandlg. d. Hist. Phil. K. d. Sachs. Akademie*, Vol. XLI, No. VI 1931, pp. 3 seq., 97) interprets the description of the Hvarena in the Yasht XIX. On p. 5, he interprets the punishment of Yima that he was degraded to become a nomad. Cf. also H. Lommel, *Die Yasts*, loc. cit., p. 173.
2. Cyropaedia, IV, 2, 15, ed. W. Miller (Loeb Clas. Lib, 1914) p. 330.
3. De Divinatone, I, 46, ed. W. Armstead Falconer (Loeb Clas. Lib., 1938), p. 274.
4. *Historiae, IV*, 5-6, ed. A. D. Godley (Loeb Clas. Lib.), Vol. II, pp. 202 seq.

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There is some evidence that a similar idea was not unfamiliar to the primitive Romans. Livy, at least, reports a very curious story when recounting how Servius Tullius, son of a slain enemy, living in the house of king Tarquinius, was predestined to become a king by the apparition of flames round his head when he was asleep.[1]

It is possible that this notion originated in the very remote past of the Indo-European race. The Iranians were, however, the only Indo-Europeans who had developed it into a definite system. They regarded the Hvarena as a strictly national distinction. Its Aryan character is often stressed in the Yashts The Turanian usurper Frangrasyan" prayed in vain for the Hvarena, "that glory.....that belongs to the Aryan people."[2] Three times he "rushed down to the sea Vouru-Kasha (Aral Sea).....wishing to seize the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra. But the Glory escaped, the Glory fled away, the Glory changed its seat and every time a new arm was produced in the sea."[3] The Hvarena was defended by Frangrasyan's principal opponent, the Kavi Haosravah (Husravah)—"he who united the Aryan nations into one kingdom." It was he who killed the Turanian who dared to attempt to usurp the Hvarena which belongs only to the legitimate kings of the Aryan race.[4]

Another place where the Hvarena is said to have had a special seat is the sea Kansaoya (actually Hamun) with the river Haetumant (actually Hilmend) on the frontier between Iran and Afghanistan.[5] This region seems also to have been governed by a mighty Aryan dynasty in pre-Zoroastrian days. The Hvarena is said to be located there in a mountain "surrounded by waters, that run from the mountain." This probably means the residence or the burial place of the Kavis.

It is not without interest to note that the two seas are connected in later Zoroastrian tradition with Zoroaster's eschatology. We are entitled

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1. Livy's *Roman History*, Bk. I, Ch. XXXIX, ed. B. O. Foster (Loeb Clas. Lib.. 1939), Vol. I, p. 138.

2. Yasht V, 41, 42, Darmesteter, loc. cit , pp 64, 65.

3. Yasht XII, 56, *Ibid.*, pp. 300-2.

4 Yasht IX, 17-22, *Ibid.*, pp. 114 seq. It is quite possible that as suggested by H. S. Nyberg (*Die Religionen des Alten Iran*, loc. cit., p. 258) the Iranians on the Aral Sea used to bury their dead kings—Kavis—on an island in the sea. This would explain the location of the Hvarena in the sea. E Herzfeld (*Zoroaster and His World*, loc. cit., p. 176) suggests that this connection of Hvarena and water could be explained by a natural phenomenon—naphtha rising from the bottom of the sea being set ablaze. Anyhow, the whole story, in its legendary garb, reflects an episode from the early history of the East Iranians.

5 Yasht XIX, 66-8, Darmesteter, p. 302.

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to interpret this with H. S. Nyberg[1] as an indication that, when Zoroastrianism had penetrated deep into the regions where the cult of Mithra and his Hvarena predominated, the tendency arose to bring the idea of Hvarena, so deeply rooted in Iranian minds, into the closest possible connection with Zoroastrianism.

Is it then possible to explain in what way the Iranians imagined the Hvarena to be a concrete manifestation of light ? This notion is a natural and logical deduction from the old Aryan doctrine on fire and light.[2] According to this doctrine, fire or light was the main element of the world and of life. Heavenly fire surrounds and penetrates the whole world. All goodness, beauty, truth and might are nought but manifestations of fire. The incarnation of the heavenly fire or heavenly light is the god of heaven, who is, at the same time, the incarnation of supreme wisdom and might and, as storm god also, the giver of rain and of fire. All natural phenomena were thus regarded as a kind of incarnation of fire. In living beings, it is again the interior fire or light residing in the heart, which is the substance of strength, health, might and wisdom. All abilities and capacities of the soul and body were thus, according to this doctrine, radiations of fire—thinking, willing, desire, wisdom, cleverness, strength, etc. The fire or light was the cause of seeing, of both spiritual and physical sight, the latter being the radiation of heart-fire through the eyes. The Hvarena was thus, in connection with this belief, another fire radiation, a source of might, victorious strength and wisdom, which should adorn the king chosen by Ahura Mazda, the incarnation of heavenly fire.

There might be, in this doctrine, some elements which were common to all Indo-Europeans in their remote prehistoric past.[3] It is, at least, remarkable that among most Indo-European nations, the supreme gods were, at one and the same time, a kind of incarnation of heavenly light, wisdom and might and also gods of storm and lightning. The opposition to this world of light, the world of darkness, whence came all evil spirits—incarnations of things inimical to man—was also part of a common Indo-European belief. But the Indo-Iranians succeeded in developing this belief into a closely knitted religious pattern. The Iranians played the leading role in this evolution. Zoroaster accepted the old doctrine concerning the heavenly fire and the inner fire in men's hearts, limiting himself in his

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2. For more detailed information, see J. Hertel, "Die Arische Feuerlehre", *Indo-Iranische Quellen und Forschungen*, Section IV, (Leipzig, 1925).

3. Cf J. Hertel, *Die Arische Feuerlehre*, loc. cit., pp. 8 seq.

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reform to depriving it of all naturalistic attributes. So it happened that the Hvarena, or kingly glory, became such an important notion in Iranian ideas on kingship.

From this short consideration it results that Zoroastrianism, although not responsible for the creation of the Hvarena, made a considerable to the further evolution of the conception. The prophet endeavoured to adapt this ancient Iranian idea to his religious system and to spiritualize their notion by attributing the Hvarena also to priests[1] and by brushing aside Mithra and Verethragna, who were so intimately, in pre-Zoroastrian times, associated with the Hvarena.

In this respect, however, Zoroaster did not succeed. After his death, his disciples thought it necessary to re-introduce Mithra and Verethragna into their master's religious teaching and to re-affirm the close relationship which they bore to the Hvarena. Verethragna, the bearer of the Hvarena, was pictured as running before Mithra's chariot in the shape of a boar, or of a bull, a horse, a wild ram and of other animals which represent, in one way or another, the strength and might incarnated in the Hvarena, which resided in divine beings and which was reflected in the heroes and kings to whom Ahura Mazda gave it.

Although the idea of the Hvarena—the kingly glory—as the most characteristic feature of the kingship, was developed only by the Iranians, it influenced profoundly the evolution of the Hellenistic and Roman political philosophies. The Semites translated the Hvarena by "Gada" already in the high Achaemenian period. This word served, however, also as translation for the Greek word Tychê—the Latin Fortuna. So it can be explained why, under the successors of Alexander the Great in Asia Minor, the Greeks were taking their oaths by the "Tychê" of the kings, a custom which was later introduced in Rome. Many of the Hellenistic royal titles, which were to become also epithets of the Roman emperors, are intimately connected with old Iranian ideas on kingship. The title of "Epiphanês" which was so frequently given to Hellenistic rulers, seems to recall the Hvarena—the kingly glory—which sometimes appeared in visible forms. The intimate connection of the Hellenistic kings and of Roman emperors with the Sun-god, also appears to have grown up from Semitic conceptions on kingship, conceptions which found their Aryan expression in the Iranian belief in the kingly glory, often identified with or symbolized by the sun. The cult of Mithra which spread over Eastern Roman

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1. Cf. E. Wilhelm, "Konigtum und Priestertum im alter Iran", *Festschr. der Deutschen Morgenland Gesellschaft*, Vol. XL (1886), pp. 102-110.

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provinces and, at last, infiltrated Rome, itself, and some Western provinces, certainly contributed to the transformation of the old Roman political philosophy into Roman Hellenism, permeated not only by Greek, but also by Iranian and eastern political ideas.[1]

Such Persian reactions on Greek, and especially Hellenistic, political thought, interesting as they are as a token of Persia's position in the ancient world, were not an isolated phenomenon. It is more than likely that Persian influence overran India and left a decisive mark on Indian political philosophy as well, though it should be added that many notions on kingship found in India, for all their Persian similarities, may have been Indian's own independent products. For instance, we find that in India the king is also looked upon as incarnate Dharma or divine law,[2] regarded often as a being of divine origin,[3] a special creation of the gods,[4] absolutely indispensable for the welfare of the country, a father to his people[5] and its protector.[6]

Some of these conceptions betray, however, a striking similarity with Hellenistic ideas on kingship and might have penetrated into India from the countries ruled by the successors of Alexander the Great. As we have, however, seen, old Iranian political ideas appear to have contributed to their evolution.

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1. I hope to study these problems more thoroughly in my work on "The Origins of Christian, Political Philosophy," now in preparation. Cf. F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figures relatifs aux mysteres de Mithra* (Bruxelles, 1899), Vol. I, pp. 279-92, and E. Herzfeld. *Zoroaster*, pp. 179 seq.

2. Cf. U N. Ghoshal, *A History of Hindu Political Theories* (Oxford, 1927), p. 37.

3. Loc. cit., pp. 167-173.

4. Loc. cit., pp. 25 seq , 126 seq.

5. Loc. cit., pp. 90, 113 seq.

6. Loc. cit., pp. 177 seq.

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The Spanish View of the Revolt in the Netherlands

By

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[Basing their conclusions only on Dutch records, historians have regarded the revolt in the Netherlands against the authority of Philip II as a war of independence. The author looks at the event from the Spanish point of view, according to which it was a punitive expedition undertaken to suppress a revolt against royal authority.

In their attempt to make Spain a powerful state, the predecessors of Philip II had introduced a series of measures calculated to strengthen the power of the king at the expense of that of the lords. Philip II wanted to follow a similar policy in the Netherlands and was, in particular, anxious to by pass the States General. Unfortunately, the feudal lords and other elements enjoying power, which were more sensitive in the Netherlands than in Spain, saw through the game and began to resist the dimination in their power. Philip II wanted to crush them and be found a convenient excuse in the excesses committed by the Calvinists. The latter, after seizing the direction of the anti-Spanish movement, were guilty of what the Spaniards have called 'Iconoclasm'. Philip was able to proclaim to the world that the rising was a defiance of legitimate authority and that he was merely punishing the rebels. —*Ed.*]

In the history of Europe in the modern times, the revolt of the Low Countries against the rule of the Spanish King Philip II, their "natural Lord" is one of those historical problems about which discussion has been going on for a long time, not so much about the details of the story, as about its significance. Already at the time of the revolt itself, and certainly from 1576 onwards, the rebels themselves spoke of a sort of war for independence, which is still the view of most of the Dutch historians of today, whereas the Spanish chroniclers of the time represent the events as a war of repression against rebels, a punishment by Philip II of his subjects of the Netherlands, who had turned against his royal authority.[1]

It seems to us that one principle may be put forth as a direction for studying in the right way the significance of the revolt, and that is that these facts ought to be studied not with the ideas and through the glasses of an historian of today, but they must be considered in the light of the

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1. See our study *Een punt van methode betreffende de studie van de opstand der Nederlanden in de XVI eeuw* in the *Mededelingen* of the Royal Flemisch Academy of Belgium, Class of Letters, X, 3 (1948), 5-19.

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concepts; the ideas and the background of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, nearly all the historians, who have written on the subject, have contented themselves with using the documents coming from the Dutch—and Calvinist—side of the question, and neglected to take into account the documents left by the Spanish writers or, in general, the followers of Philip's Policy and concepts.

In this paper, we shall try to form a new perspective of the events with the use of this last named source.

For a right understanding of the attitude of the Spanish king towards his possessions in the Netherlands one should not forget that, in his native Spain, Philip II continued the politics of his predecessors the *reges catholicos* Ferdinand and Isabella.[1]

The reign of the Spanish King Henry IV (1474) had ended in a lot of internal troubles and disorder as a result of the use of the bastard daughter Sa Beltraneja by partisanship and the catastrophical efforts for independence of the feudal lords. Ferdinand and Isabella, when they tried to construct modern Spain and to put an end to the danger of destruction of that country adopted a policy which had as its aim the establishment of a new political order with excellent forms making a modern bureaucratic state take the place of the former feudal one. The fortified residences of the rebellious nobles were, most of them, destroyed. Their privileges were cautiously but totally suppressed, so that these nobles were thenceforth unable to influence the government. Many important positions in the administration were now given to the letrados, men of law who had studied Roman law in the universities and who had become everywhere the strongest supporters of royal authority. The gifts in land and revenue conceded by Henry IV to the nobles were annulled and added to the royal domain. The exemption from taxes, which constituted one of the most appreciated privileges of the nobles and the priests of high rank, were, as far as possible, diminished.

The *reyes catholicos* knew also that at least during the first years of their reign they had depended largely on the help and the military support of the lay and ecclesiatical lords. In order to be henceforth independent in their action, Ferdinand and Isabella created a personal army for the implementation of their policy. Compulsory military service was resorted and a splendid organisation organised and perfected by the Gran Capstan,

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1. A good scheme of the policy of the *reyes catolicos* in **L. Pfandl**, *Jeanne la Folle, sa vie et son temps*, 20-42 (translation from the German by R. de Liedekerke), Brussels, 1938; also **J. Calmette**, *La Formation de l'unite espagnole*, 197-220, Paris, 1946.

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Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordoba, gave to Spain a power of which she was to make use for her national expansion. In the Royal Council, the *letrados* were introduced and constituted two thirds of that body. Profoundly imbued with the prevogatives of the sovereign, this Council acted with the utmost secrecy and its discussions and decisions were carefully recorded : *quod non est in actis, non est in mundo.* Later on this Royal Council split up into as many special bodies as the complexity of politics necessitated. Even the towns with their *fueros*, far-reaching privileges and exemptions, felt the interference of the central power; a *coregidor*, a sort of State Commissioner, controlled the life and policy of the Commune. Furthermore, the role and power of the *Cortes*, the national assembly, was greatly reduced by the extension of the power of the Royal Council and through a well integrated financial policy the demand of money from the *Cortes* became more and more unnecessary. The *reyes catholicos* succeeded in doing without grants for some fifteen years.

The Church was put under control of the royal power through right of appeal from the ecclesiastical courts and veto on the papal decrees. But in other directions the church gained in prestige through the excellent reforms of Caridnal Ximenez de Cisneros.

These are the facts as to Spain. When Philip II became lord of the Netherlands, he found there nearly the same situation as that against which the *reyes catolicos* had struggled when they had tried to create modern Spain. In the Low Countries, the nobility, and more especially the members of the order of the Golden Fleece, had a prominent position not only in social life but also in politics. They were members of the Council of State created by the emperor Charles V and had received from that sovereign important concessions and privileges. Their sons were able to play an important part in the church and the policy of the church since they got bishoprics and became abbots of rich and influential monastic houses. The States General and Provincial, which represented the three classes of Flemish society, *viz.* the nobles, the ecclesiastics and the town-people, had the right to defend the privileges of the provinces and to oppose the measures of the sovereign if these were contrary to those privileges, in which case they spoke frankly and sometimes strongly. Notwithstanding the centralizing policy of the Burgundian dukes and of Charles V, the towns had not yet lost all their rights of autonomy. Finally, love of freedom, and disgust with any dictatorial measure, were,

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perhaps, the most outstanding characteristic of the people of the Low Countries.[1]

So, at the very beginning of his reign as sovereign of the Netherlands, Philip II seems to have had the intention to treat this country as his predecessors, the *reyes catholicos*, had treated Spain, in order to establish at Brussels some sort of viceroy governing a kind of *presidio* as in the Spanish colonies like Peru.[2] But fortunately the young king had still around him some of the councillors of his father, Charles V, who knew the people of the Netherlands and who were aware of the fact that such a kind of government would have started in the Low Countries an immediate and strong reaction. Philip listened to these men, Granvelle, Alva, Gomez de Silva, Don Juan Massrique, but tried to obtain a result by taking less spectacular measures. Apparently, he did not change the situation as it had existed under his predecessor and father, Charles[3] V. He appointed the nobles as governors of the different provinces of the Low Countries and honoured some of them with the membership of the Golden Fleece. But in the central organism of the government their influence was diminished by the creation of a Consulta, a sort of secret cabinet of state, wherein three *letrados*, the three "legists" were appointed : Cardinal Granvelle, Viglices, the president of the Privy Council and Bexlaymont, president of the Financial Council. The nobles immediately understood the meaning of this Consulta and among them William of Nassau, prince of Orange, who had been the "favori" of Charles V. Here we have the beginning of the movement, which later on developed into a revolution.

Another way in which Philip tried to reinforce his authority in the Netherlands was the keeping of Spanish soldiery, which had fought or was to fight against the French King in the well-known struggle of the Habsburg princes against the Valois. So, he had in the Low Countries his own troops and could use them in time of revolt.

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1. See **E. Gossart**, *L'établissement du régime espagnol dans les Pays-Bas et l'insurrection*, Brussels, 1905, and the volume IV of the *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, Utrecht. 1953.

2. About this plan see *Correspondance de Philippe II*, published by **Gachard**, II, 143 ; **Gossart**, *Projets d'érection des Pays-Bas en royaume sous Philippe II*, in *Bulletin de l'Academie Royale de Belgique*, classe des Lettres, 1900, 558 sq.

3. On the beginnings of the revolt and the policy of the King see **Gossart**, *L'établissement ...* quoted above, and the chapter by Dr. Dierckx in the volume IV of the *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* To take also into account **K. Verbofstad**, *De Regeering der Nederlanden in de jaren 1555-1559*, Nijmegen, 1937.

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Philip II could do nothing, directly, to get rid of the States General of the Netherlands and to by-pass them as the *reyes catolicos* had done in the case of the Spanish Cortes. But at least he succeeded in diminishing in the States General the influence of the nobles, when, while organising the new bishoprics in order to enable them to give a better fight to the Lutherans and the Calvinists, he ordered that the new bishops should be in possession of a doctor's degree, which was generally not the case with the sons of the nobles, who aspired for such a position. The king seems also to have tried to dispense with the need for asking the States General for money grants by creating a number of enterprises with the help of Italian adventurers and merchants such as Baroncelli and Santa Croca. For the moment, he did not take more measures of a dictatorial character, but, as a real Castilian, he waited for his opportunity silently and prudently. He would be able to go farther. This opportunity came in the year 1566, when, the Calvinists after they had succeeded in obtaining the direction of the revolutionary movement, made themselves guilty of the excesses known as the Iconoclasm. When this outbreak, directed against the Roman Catholic religion, the religion of the sovereign and of the State, occurred, Philip II was of the opinion that the link which bound him to the people of the Netherlands, his oath of *joyense entree*, with the promise to respect always the rights and privileges of his subjects, existed no more and that now he could act as an absolute monarch, master of the lives and property of his people. Now he went back to his very first scheme, *viz.* to make of the Low Countries some sort of Spanish *presidio* like Milan, Naples, Maxico and Peru So he resolved to send to the Low Countries the duke of Alva, with a Spanish army, in order to punish those responsible for the excesses and to establish the royal authority.

However, the decision to send Alva and his soldiers was not taken without some wavering, as was always the case with king Philip. He had been under the influence of pope Pius V, who thought that negotiation with the Flemish rebels was to be preferred to recourse to arms, and so the king laid the question before his Council of State at Madrid. The party of the moderates, prince of Eboli and cardinal Espinosa, suggested prudence and negotiation, while the party of the "ultras," Count of Chinchon, Don Juan Manrique and Alva wanted severe sanctions. The king adopted finally the views of this party and resolved to send Alva with his Spanish *tercios* to the Netherlands.[1]

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1. Gossart, *L'etablissement...*, 75-77

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But now rose the question : how should this move of Philip be called ? Was it a crusade against the heretics or simply a repression of rebels, a war against subjects in revolt against their legitimate ruler ? The pope would have liked the religious character of Alva's mission being placed in the foreground and not the political aspect. Alva had a meeting with papal nuncio at Madrid and declared strongly that the pope had not to interfere in this question and that the war in Flanders would be waged under the same label as that which the Emperor Charles V used for his fight against the German Lutherans, *viz.*, a fight commanded by the raison detat against rebels. By doing so, said Alva, one could obviate the intervention of the English, the Germans and "other heretic ," who were always ready to help each other for the defence of their religion. Moreover, added Alva, when one put the accent on the political side of the measures taken instead of on the religious aspect, the Spanish commander could enlist German Lutheran troops for his army.[1]

It is, then, quite clear that in the mind of King Philip and of his governors-general in the Low Countries it was impossible to accept the theory of the rebels in that country professing to defend only their privileges and speaking of a "war for independence." This was not a war between two sovereigns or between two states, but a punitive expedition against people in rebellion against its "natural lord." It was with these views that the governor-general, Don Suis do Reguesens, at a certain movement of his fight with the rebels in Holland, ordered the hanging of prisoners taken in battle, as they could not be considered as regular fighters, but simply as rebels guilty of the crime of 'lése-majesté'.[2]

In a later period of the revolt, a memoir sent by Don Scipio de Castro to king Philip in the year 1578[3], again insists on the necessity to wage war in Flanders under the colour of a political action against rebels and not giving it the appearance of a "war of religion," as Don Juan of Austria, unfortunately, had presented it in 1577 in a declaration to the States General of the Netherlands. By doing so Don Juan, according to the memoir had therewith associated the cause of the Flemings with that of England, Germany, a large part of France and the five Swiss cantons, with the consequence that the rebels received material and moral help from

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1. B. de Meester, *Le saint-Siège et les troubles des Pays-Bas, 1566-1579*, 9-25, Louvain, 1934 ; Gossart, *L'établissement...*, 82-83.

2. Requesens to the King, Antwerp, 30th December 1573, in *Correspondance de Philippe II*, II, 445.

3. Published by G. Brom, *Archivalia in Italië*, III, 277-278 ('s Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, published by the Dutch Government).

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those quarters. The emperor Charles V had never consented to the presentation of his war against the German Lutherans as a war of religion, which it actually was, because he knew that easy correspondence existed between the heretics, that over the frontiers they helped each other and that their ministers were diligent and their people obstinate. "Moreover," went on the memoir, "it is necessary to maintain good relations with the Swiss, and particularly with Bern, which is used as a passage for the Spanish troops going from Italy to Flanders, a passage without which your Majesty will be no more able to bring this war to an happy end."

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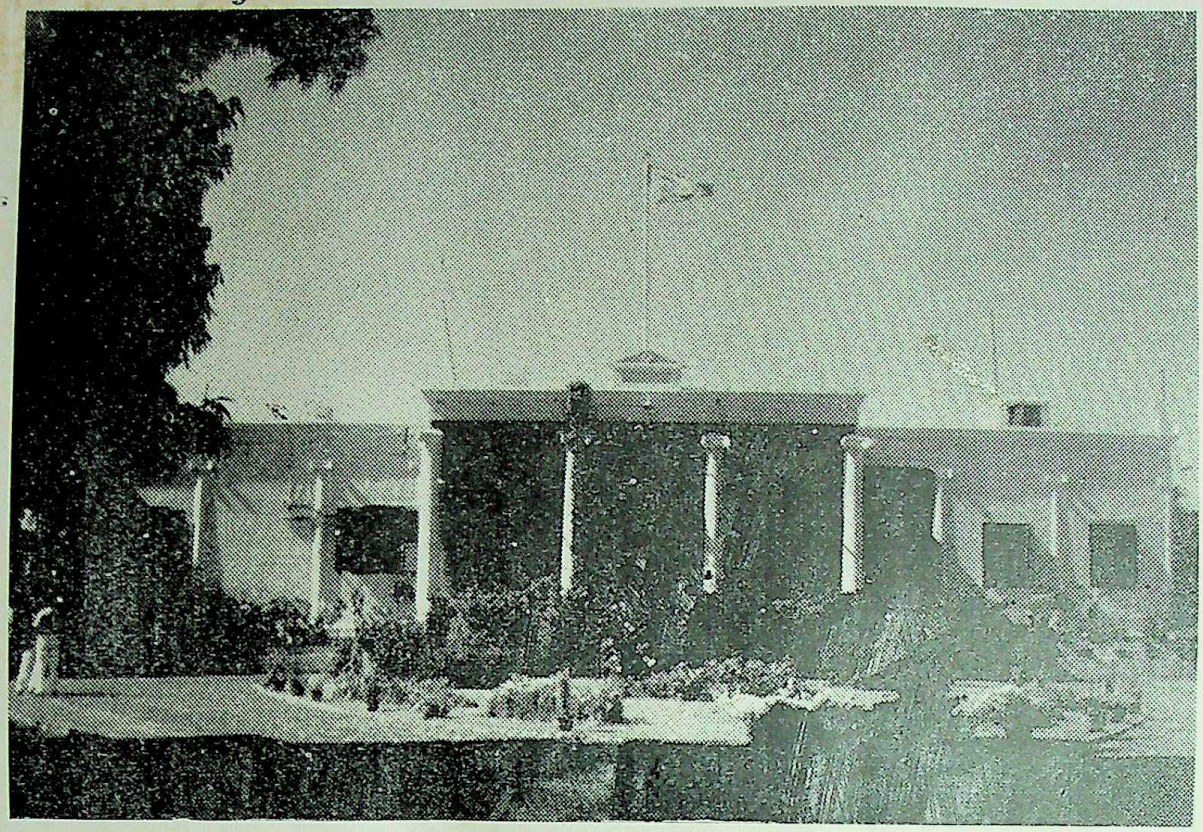

FRONT VIEW OF THE RAJ BHAVAN AT CUTTACK

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History of the Lal Bagh Palace

(*Present Raj Bhavan of Orissa State*)

By

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[In this article the author has tried to identify Lal Bagh palace with the pre ent Raj Bhavan at Cuttack and the stately palace of Malcandy described by William Bruton with the Barabati palace. After a critical and analytical examination of the contemporary sources, he has rejected the opinion held by a number of scholars that Lal Bagh Palace was the Mahanadi Palace. He has proved that Malcandy palace cannot be identified with the Lal Bagh palace. He has equated Malcandy palace with Barabati palace or fort which was named by Bruton as Mahanadi palace on account of its being situated on the bank of the river Mahanadi. According to him the construction of Lal Bagh palace was undertaken in 1633 by Mutaqad Khan alias Mirza Maki, who was the Mughal Governor of Orissa during 1632-41 A.D. —*Ed*.]

There has been controversy and a great deal of confusion as to the identity of the stately palace of Malcandy described by Mr. William Bruton, an English merchant of the East India Company, who visited Cuttack in the company of Messrs. Ralph Cartwright, Thomas Colly and John Dobson in 1633 A.D. The date of construction and the name of the builder of the Lālbāgh palace—the present Raj Bhavan of Orissa, identified by some scholars with the palace of Malcandy are shrouded in mystery. The keen interest in the origin and history of the Lālbāgh evinced first by His Excellency Dr. K. N. Katju, the first Governor of Orissa after Independence, as also by the successive Governors of Orissa since then, has given a great impetus to unravel the mystery and to solve the problem. In the present article an attempt is made to identify the "palace of Malcandy" and also to find out the date of erection of the Lālbāgh palace on scientific analysis of the available historical facts

Abul Fāzl in his Āin-i-Akbari has recorded detailed accounts of the existing monuments and palaces in Orissa. But the description or even the mention of the Lālbāgh palace is nowhere to be found in the *Āin-i-Akbari*.[1] Hence it can be assumed with justification that the Lālbāgh palace had not been constructed till the compilation of *Āin-i-Akbari* in 1594 A.D.

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, translated by Sir J. N. Sarkar.

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William Bruton undertook the journey to the Nawāb's (Mughal Governor of Orissia) Court at Cuttack in the company of Ralph Cartwright and John Dobson and was the guest of "Mersymomeine" (Mirza Momin ?) in May 1633 A.D. In his narration he records."……the city of Coteke—it is a city of several miles and it standeth a mile from Malcandy where the court is kept." He has given a very detailed description of the Court of Malcandy with its "Stately structures and situation."

Thomas Motte in his "*A Narrative of a Journey to the Diamond Mines of Sumbhulpur*"[1] in Orissa in 1766 gives a description of the Lālbāgh as follows :—

"Each of the sides of the triangle on which Cuttac is built is two miles, but that on the banks of Cotjuree is best inhabited. On it is Lolbaug, the residence of the Governor of the Province, a large building laid out in a number of courts in the Morsico taste, but much out of repair, the Governor, when one part is ready to fall, removing to another. From the principal entrance of this palace runs the great street, formerly built in a straight line, one and a half miles long and still the chief place of business in the town. On the right of it is the English Factory, the meanness of which does no credit to so flourishing a Company."

Ghulam Hussain Salim, writing in 1787-88, mentioned in *Riyaz-us-Salatin*[2] that the "Lālbāgh palace" was situated in Katak. Stirling writing in 1822 observed in his History[3] : "The Mogul and Marhatta Sūbadars always resided in the palace of the Lālbāgh on the banks of Cajori, which we must suppose to be the 'Stately Court of Malcandy' (whatever that word may mean) described by Mr. Cartwright who visited the 'Governor of Coteke,' in 1632,[4] though there are no traces of splendour remaining to warrant the high-wrought description of the palace, given in Bruton's narration.' Stirling's suggestion that the Lālbāgh is identical with the "Stately Court of Malcandy" appearing in Bruton's *News from the East Indies or a Voyage to Bengalla* is responsible for the mass of unnecessary confusion regarding the identity of these two historic palaces— "The Palace of *Lālbāgh*" and the "Stately Court of Malcandy".

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1. Reprinted in Orissa Research Journal, Vol. I, No.3, App. II, 17.
2. English translation published by A.S.B (1904) 335.
3. A. Stirling, *An account of Orissa Proper or Cuttak*, 19.
4. 1639 is really 1633. A.D.

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Dr. Mehdi Hussain, of the Islamic History & Culture Department of the University of Calcutta, has also identified *Lālbāgh* with Bruton's "Court of Malcandy" and has observed,"[1].....the said *Lālbāgh* was added to and improved upon by the succeeding Subādārs or at least by some of them." Though he rejects the earlier views which identified "Malcandar" or "Malcandy" with Mukunda Deo, he himself has completely failed to identify properly "Malcandy" and has made certain wild guesses in suggesting the identification of "Malcandy" with "Kalinga Nagar" which unfortunately he identifies with Bhubaneswar, with Mundaka hills, with Kallardha, (the Asia hills in Jaipur Sub-division) and, with the Sambhukshetra peak of the Kapilas hills. The late Mr. S. Ray,[2] B.A. (Oxon), ex-Professor of History, Ravenshaw College and Director of Public Instruction Orissa has also accepted Wilson's derivation of Malcandy from Mukunda and Mr. P. Achārya, now Superintendent of Research and Museum, Bhubaneswar, while not very certain about the proper Oriya word for Malcandy has tacitly accepted in his article "Orissa Monuments"[3] the views of the compiler of the Cuttack District Gazetteer, O' Malley, who has followed Wilson's derivation of the word "Malcandy".

Wilson in his "*Early Annals of the English in Bengal*" derives Malcandy from the word Mukunda Deo.[4] Following Ābul Fazl who wrongly mentioned "Mukunda" as the builder of the fort of Bārabati,[5] situated on the bank of Mahanadi in the city of Cuttack, Wilson identified the court of Malcandy as derived from Mukunda. *Madlapanji* ascribes the erection of Bārabati to Anangabhimadeva. The historians referred to above have opined that "Malcandy" is derived from the word 'Mukunda' presumably following Wilson. An Englishman is not likely to pronounce "Mukunda" as "Malcandy." He would, on the other hand, pronounce most probably, Mukunda as "Makand," and would never insert the superfluous "*l*" and "*y*" on the word Malcandy. The magnificent palace of "Malcandy" of Bruton is really the magnificent palace of Mahānady that the fort of Barabati which now stands just on the bank of Makanadi. Bruton was certainly correct in calling it as the palace of Mahandy according to its geographical location. An Englishman would usually

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1 Ms. '*The Unrecorded Lālbāgh*" unpublished document now in the Governor's Secretariat, Orissa.

2. *Note on the Lālbāgh*, unpublished note in the Orissa Governor's Secretariat.

3. Printed in *Orissa Review*, Special Issue, 1949, 13.

4. *Early annals of the English in Bengal* Vol. I. 7.

5. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II. 126.

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pronounce "Mahanady" as Mahandy" dropping the third "*a*" of the former word. Thus, Bruton described the court and the palace as the court or palace of "Mahandy." The question, therefore, arises as to how the word 'Mahandy' came to be transcribed as 'Malcandy' in print. A study of paleography of the English script from the 16th century to the 18th[1] would make it clear. Till the 16th century the letter '*h*' was generally written with a loop at[2] bottom. After this period the modern form of '*h*' which is similar to '*l*' and '*c*' when together written, also came into vogue. Bruton's manuscript "*News from the East Indies or a Voyage to Bengalla*" most probably had been written in the second quarter of the 17th century as his visit took place in 1633 A. D. The manuscript remained unpublished for some time. As this was in manuscript the compositor is likely to have expected the more familiar form of '*h*'[3] with a loop at bottom. Bruton, however, appears to have used the modern form of '*h*', obviously on account of its simplicity, as this was also in vogue in the 17th century. So the compositor has evidently read this modern '*h*' as '*l*' and '*c*' and composed Malcandy instead of Mahānady. The palace of Bārabāti stands just on the bank of the river Mahānady and is at a distance of about one mile from the city of Cuttack as it existed then. This fact has been specifically referred to by Bruton in his book "*News from the East Indies.*" There is the remnant of no other palace except that of Bārabati (called "the stately court of Mahandy" by Bruton) and that of "Lalbag" in the delta of Cuttack. Bruton would not be referring to Lālbagh as this palace is very close to the city of Cuttack, situated on the bank of the river Kathjuri and, as recorded by him, was in the process of construction at the time of Bruton's visit in 1633 A. D. So the palace of "Malcandy" is nothing else than the palace of "Mahandy" or Mahanadi, which is the name given by Bruton to the palace of Bārābati; and evidently the compositor in England while composing an unfamiliar name of the East (Orissa) has committed this printer's devil.[4] Thus, Bruton's detailed descriptions were related to the palace of Mahanady, *i.e*, the Fort of Bārabati. The graphic pictures of the gates, the causeways, the bastions, etc., drawn by Bruton clearly stand for the Bārabati, although the splen-

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1. Ref. to William Shakespeare, Vol. II by E. K. Chambers. Vol. II specimens of writing, place xx, facing page 172 and 174

2. Diagrams of old forms of H.

3. Diagram of the New or modern form of H.

4. I am indebted to Shri B. Das, M A. (Pat.), A M. (Columbia), B Litt (Oxon), Reader in English, Ravenshaw College, Utkal University, for assisting me in the confirmation of my findings with reference to English paleography.

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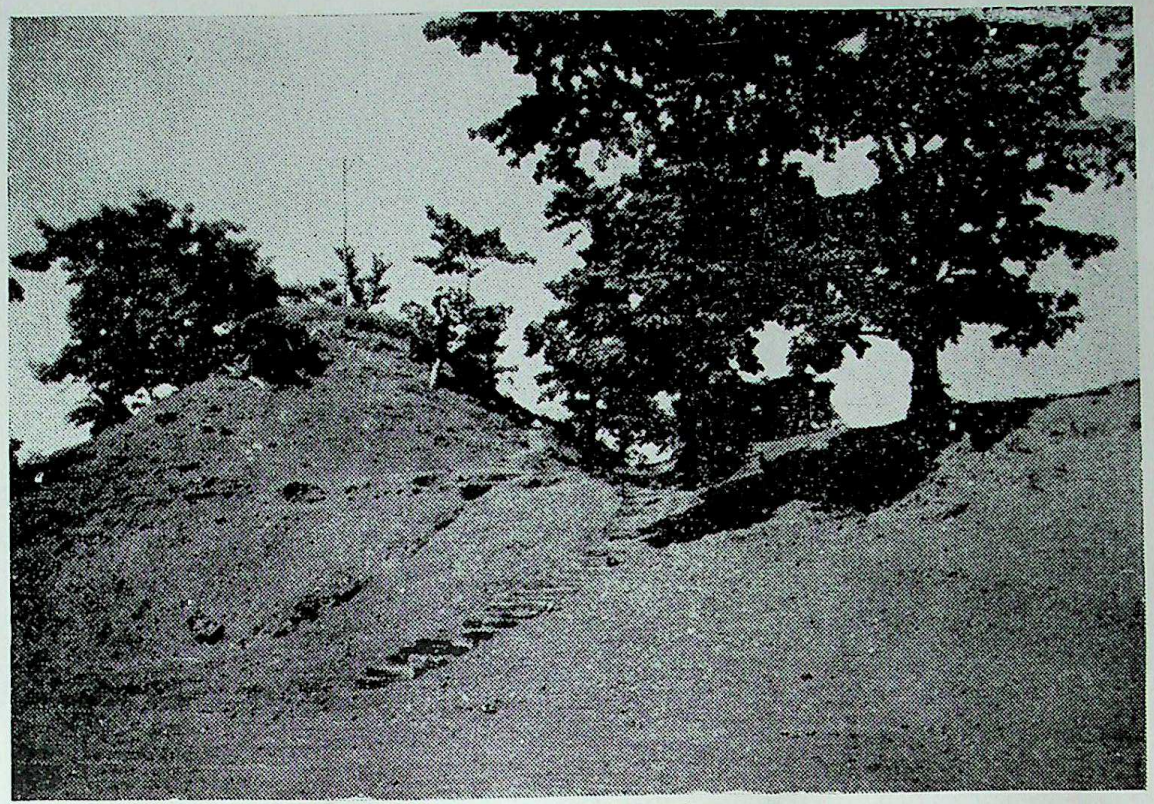

BARABATI FORT. THE MOUND LIKE HILLOCK IS THE PLACE WHERE THE FAMOUS PALACE STOOD

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dour that was Malcandy is no more and only a portion of the main gate on the Eastern side stands now, the original building having been destroyed at the time of the beginning of English administration in Orissa.

In Bruton's accounts we also get a clue to fix the probable date of erection of the Lālbāgh palace along with the development of the adjoining areas. In the course of his narration Bruton states, "But although the palace of the Nabob be so large in extent and so magnificent in structure, yet he himself will not lodge in it, but every night he lodgeth in tents with his most trusty servants and guards about him; for it is an abomination to the Moguls (which are whitemen) to rest or sleep under the roof of an house that another man hath built for his own honour. And, therefore, he was building a palace, which he purposed should be a fabric of rest and future remembrance of his renown."[1]

To understand the above quotation in its real perspective and in its true import it is necessary to note a few historical facts of the time.

"Mughal rule in Orissa really began during the reign of the Emperor Nūruddin Jahangīr after the appointment of the first Ṣūbādār in 1607[2] A. D." Thus, by the time of Bruton's visit in 1633 A D. hardly 25 years had elapsed during which period the Mughal Ṣūbādārs of Orissa were busy in consolidating the Mughal position in Orissa and had little time or energy left to build a new palace as the seat of the Court and had no other option but to hold the court in the Bārabāti palace and to utilise it as a court and a garrison.[3]

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1. *News from the East Indies or voyage to Bengalla* (a collection of voyages and travel compiled from the library of the Earl of Oxford) Vol. II, (London, 1745) p. 275.

2. R. D. Banerjea, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II. p. 32.

3. Prof. Asghar Ali of the Ravenshaw College has discovered from certain Persian records, *e.g.*, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *Amal-i-Saleh* and *Maasirul-Omnah* that Pipli, now a small village on Cuttack-Puri Road, at a distance of about 25 miles from Cuttack—was the capital of Orissa in the reign of Jahangir (1605-27 A.D). It is recorded in *Tuzuki-i-Jahangiri* that Prince Khurram rebelled against his father and upon the rebel's arrival at Pipli from the Deccan the then Mughal capital of Orissa, (on his way from Deccan to Delhi) the Mughal Governor of Orissa—Mirza Ahmad Beg fled towards Dacca, the capital of Bengal. Prince Khurram (later on Shah Jahan) rebelled in the 19th regnal year of Jahangir, which is equivalent to 1624 A.D. Thus the Mughal capital of Orissa must have been transferred from Pipli to Cuttack after 1624 A.D. Since the last three years of Jahangir's rule were very troublesome, it is very likely that the shifting of the Mughal capital from Pipli to Cuttack probably took place in the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign in 1628 A.D. There are extensive ruins containing a mosque, fort wall, a ditch surrounding the fort, tanks etc., which have been recently discovered by Prof. Asghar Ali covering a vast expanse overgrown with jungles very near the present village of Pipli. It is quite probable that these ruins represent the capital of Mughal Orissa during the reign of Jahangir.

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But with the passage of years the need for a new palace freed of the Hindu traditions might have been increasingly felt and Bruton by his reference to the "abomination of the Nabob" has brought out the urgency of the need. Bruton has nowhere mentioned the name of the reigning Nabob (Governor) of Orissa excepting a reference to the predecessor of the Nabob, "one Backarcauna" (Baqirkhan) who "founded" two stately tombs; Wilson however notes that the ruling Subadar was one, Āghā Muhammad Zamān[1] Tihrāni. R. D. Banerjea also has accepted Wilson's view and suggests that though Mutāqad Khān alias Mirzā Māki took over the charge of the province from Baqir Khān in 1632, yet he was probably recalled for a year during which (*i.e.* in 1633) Aghā Muhammad Tihrāni was the Subadar of Orissa. But since there is hardly any other corroboration from other sources, R. D. Banerjea writes that "Mutaqad Khan was sent back in 1634 A.D."[2] From *Badshanamah* as well as from Sir

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1. *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 8, f.n. 1 :

"Bruton does not tell us the name of the nabob whom he saw in 1633, and who gave Cartwright the order for free trade in Orissa. All that we could infer from this narrative is that the nabob had recently succeeded Baqir Khan, that he was a white man, and possibly that he was a Persian. But from a list of State papers found in the United Trade Consultations Book for 1704, under the date of the 19th February, we find that the name of Cartwright's nabob was Agha Muhammad Zaman. From other sources it appears that Agha Muhammad Zaman was a Persian, born in Tahran, who was one of the high officials of Jahangir. He served in Bengal for a long time, and was Tulquldar and Faujdar of Sylhet. On the accession of Shah Jahan, his allowance of two thousand rupees, and his command of one thousand horse were allowed to remain. According to the *Padshah Namah*, in 1040 H, *i.e.*, 1630-31 A. D, he was serving in Bengal. The next year he was raised to a higher rank, that is his allowance and command were increased. In 1044 H , or 1634-5 A. D, he is mentioned as attending the court of Shah Jahan, and presenting two elephants and nine horses brought from Bengal. In the same year he accompanied Islam Khan, who was sent to Bengal as Governor. In 1047 H, he was sent by Islam Khan to carry on war in Kuch Hajar, and for the next few years fought with some success against the Assamese. For these services he was raised to a still higher rank. In 1051 H. Shah Jahan having given the province of Orissa to Shah Shuja, directed him to send Muhammad Zaman Tahrani to govern that province. In 1055 H. Mutaqid Khan succeeded him, and Muhammad Zaman was sent to Balkh to serve under Prince Aurangzeb.

"There is thus no mention of his being Governor of Orissa in 1633 A. D. On the contrary, the *Padshah Namah* says that Baqir Khan, who was nabob of Orissa at the succession of Shah Jahan, was succeed by Mutaqid Khan in 1041 H, or 1631-2 A D, who was succeeded by Nawaz Khan in 1049 H, or 1639-40 A.D. Muhammad Zaman was made Governor of Orissa and displaced Nawaz Khan in 1050 H

"In the face of the evidence of the English records there can be no doubt that the Persian authorities are in error here as they often are. Baqir Khan was succeeded by Muhammad Zaman in 1631-32 A. D, who was succeeded by Mutaqid Khan in 1044 H, or 1634-5 A. D. Thus Muhammad Zaman was twice governor of Orissa, and was twice succeeded by Mutaqid Khan."

2. R. D. Banerjea, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 39.

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J. N. Sarkar's list in *Studies in Mughal India* it is clear that Baqir Khan was succeeded in 1632 A. D. by Mutaqid Khan who continued as the Mughal Ṣūbādār of Orissa till 1641 A. D. Banerjea[1] seems to be far-fetched and erroneous and it should be taken for granted that if at all there was a Ṣūbādār named Aghā Muhammad Zamān Tihrāni in Orissa in 1633, then he was identical with Mu-taqad Khan alias Mirzā Māki ; in other words the name as recorded by Wilson was only another name of Mu-taqad Khan, alias Mirza Maki, and he was the Subadar who granted the firman to the English traders in May 1633.

Dr. Mehdi Hussain writes that "the Lalbagh was constructed during the tenure of office of Baqir Khan Nazim Sani, the Subadar of Orissa from 1627 to 1632 A. D."[2] He further writes :

"Baqir Khan Nazim Sani was the last of Jahangir's Subadars of Orissa and was after Jahangir's death confirmed in his office by Shah Jahan. This was the period of Cuttack's prosperity and Baqir Khan raised large sums of money from the Zamindars of Orissa so much so that he became unpopular with them and complaints being lodged against him he was ultimately recalled. But the said complaints do not show that he dissipated the wealth which exceeded 40,000 rupees in luxury and indulgence. Then it was a custom for the provincial Governors, particularly with those who enjoyed prosperity and peace and comparatively a long tenure of office to build a residential house or at least a part of it. Perhaps on a site most suitable for such a residence he built a house which later became known as Lal Bagh. And from the relevant observations made by William Bruton it appears that the said Lal Bagh was added to and improved upon by the succeeding Subadars or at least by some of them." About this Baqir Khan, much is not known except that he was a blood-thirsty tyrant, who, it was alleged, made 700 Oriya Zamindars captives and massacred all of them excluding a single fugitive who escaped to the Imperial Court and laid his case before Shah Jahan who recalled Baqir Khan from Orissa in 1632 A.D.[3] Baqir Khan managed to extort nearly 40 lakhs of rupees from the unfortunate Zamindars. An eminent historian of West Bengal suggests that out of this ill-gotten wealth, the expenses for the construction of the Lalbagh were met. But the period between this sordid incident and the recall seems to be too meagre in

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1. *Ibid*, p. 199.
2. Ms. *The unrecorded Lalbagh* unpublished document now in the Governor's Secretariat, Orissa.
3. R. D. Banerjea, *History of Oirssa*, Vol. II, p. 39.

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which Baqir Khan could have undertaken such a task. Moreover, the conclusion of this eminent historian is not corroborated by any contemporary history, but is only the product of his imagination.

If Bruton is to be believed then the Subadar of Orissa, evidently Mutaqad Khan, alias Mirza Maki who had a long tenure of office (1632-41) and enjoyed the patronage of the new Emperor Shah Jahan was "building a palace, which he purposed should be a fabric of rest and future remembrance of his renown." Bruton earlier observes that "it is an abomination to the Moghuls to rest or sleep under the roof of a house that another man hath built for his own honour" and the "house which another hath built" positively refers to the Malcandy (Barabati) and not the "Lalbagh" as suggested by Dr. Mehdi Hussain, supposed to have been built by Baqir Khan-Mirza Sani.

Thus, it was Mutaqad Khan alias Mirza Maki, the Moghul Governor of Orissa in 1633 A. D., who undertook the construction of a "fabric of rest and future remembrance of his renown" to save himself from the abomination of resting under the roof of the magnificent palace of "Malcandy" built by the earlier kings of Orissa. This new "fabric" became famous later as the Lalbagh palace, probably because it was coloured red and acquired official status, recognition and honour with the succession of years and regimes.

Apart from the incidental mentions by travellers like T. Motte (1766), Leckie (1790) and historians like Ghulam Hussain Salim (1787) and Stirling (1822), the fortunes of the Lalbagh were not definitely known till 1862 A. D. From the contemporary British records in the office of the Board of Revenue, Cuttack, it is gathered that the land comprising the Lalbagh estate covering an area of nearly 50 acres were treated as "originally belonging to the Government. In 1862 it was leased out to one Mr. Charles Beecher for a term of 81 years. Probably on the death of Mr. Beecher, the estate again came under the *Khas* possession of Government." In January 1862, it was sold by the Government to the Collector of Cuttack, Mr. Shore, for Rs. 140/-. Mr. Shore sold the estate together with the building to the Irrigation Company for Rs. 15,000/- in August 1863. When the Government took the Irrigation Works from the Company, the estate again came into its hands and the Government was registered as proprietor in respect of it in 1870.[1] Since 1868, the Lālbāgh house was used as the official residence at one time of the Commissioners

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1. Note on Estate Lalbagh, Touzi No. 1969, unpublished records in the Governor's Secretariat, Cuttack.

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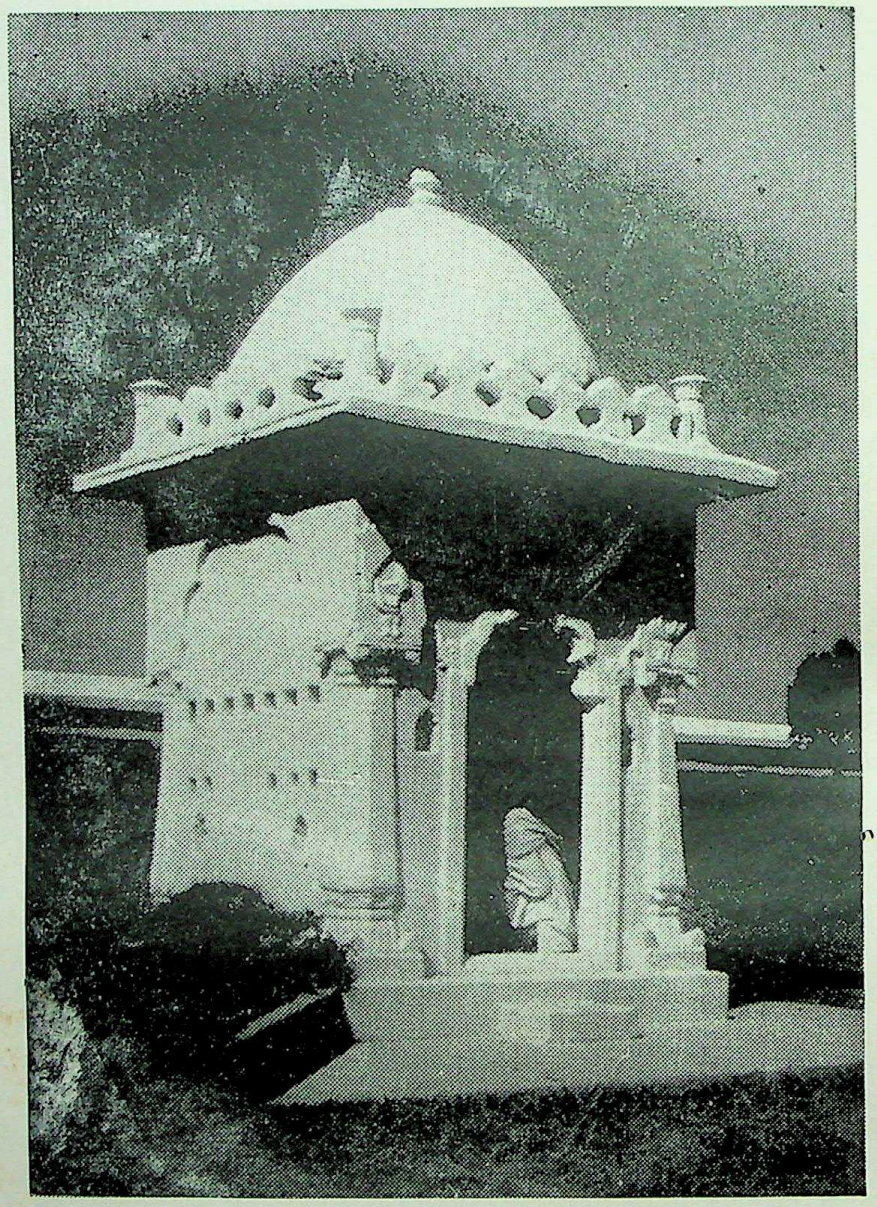

TOMB OF KALE PIR PAHALVAN IN THE WESTERN SIDE OF THE COMPOUND OF THE RAJ BHAWAN AT CUTTACK

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of Orissa Division and at other times of the Collectors of Cuttack, till 1939. From 1938-1939 it was allotted to Mr. E. C. Ansorge, I. C. S., and some times to Mr. P. T. Mansfield, I.C.S., Adviser to His Excellency the Governor and Chief Secretary to the Government of Orissa, respectively. On the 26th November 1939 it was converted into the Government House and since December 1951 it has been renamed as "Raj Bhavan" or the official residence of the Governor of Orissa.

The Lalbagh palace as well as the entire compound has undergone several changes since it was first built as the official residence of the Mughal Subadars. Even as late as the beginning of the 19th century its compound covered an extensive area of 50 acres. At present its area is nearly 23 acres. Most probably only the portico, the adjoining side rooms and the main gate of the compound are the only remnants of the original Lalbagh of the Mughal period.

The two tombs inside the Lalbagh palace

The Mansoor Saheb's Dargah and the adjoining mosque were built at different times as is evident from the inscription on the Mosque which was built in 1215 Hijri or approximately 1800[1] A. D. The smaller tomb adjoining that of the Monsoor Saheb is laid, against the injunctions of the Quran, East to West. The tomb towards the western side of the Lalbagh is also laid in a similar manner. This tomb has a superstructure which has crude representations of peacocks, swans and elephant heads on its front walls and the door. These representations are most probably the works of an amateur hand. Since it is not known for certain whether the tomb is that of a Muhammadan or a Hindu, these engravings can be explained in only conjectural manner. If it is assumed that the tomb is that of a Muslim, then the figures as well as the placing of the slab in a wrong direction can be explained in the following manner. Probably originally there was some superstructure over the tomb without any representation of living animals which became dilapidated in course of time and some noble-minded respector of old monuments especially of graves employed an ordinary

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1. The fact that a Mosque was built within the Lālbāgh compound in the year 1800 during the period of Marhatta rule proves the policy of toleration of a Hindu, *i.e.*, a Marhatta Governor. We should, therefore, be prepared to revise the harsh judgment of Stirling that "The administration of the Marhattas in Cuttack, was, as in every other part of their foreign conquests, fatal to the welfare of the people and the prosperity of the country, and exhibits a picture of misrule, anarchy, weakness, rapacity and violence combined, which makes one wonder how society can have been kept together under so calamitous a tyranny." *An account of Orissa Proper* by Stirling 90. The transliteration and translation of the inscription by Prof. Ashgar Ali Ravenshaw College have been given in Appx. 'A'.

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Hindu mason either to repair or rebuild the superstructure as well as the tomb, and the Hindu mason in complete ignorance of Muhammadan customs of burial and the injunctions of the Quran placed the tombs in the wrong direction and to satisfy his aesthetic vanity drew figures over the superstructure. On the other hand, if it is the tomb of a Hindu Sadhu, then it is obvious that the tomb would never have been built either prior to or during the Mughal rule over Orissa. It is possible that during the rule of the Marhattas, towards the second half of the 18th century, the tomb and the superstructure were erected to commemorate the virtue of some famous Hindu Sadhu who might have been the preceptor of the then Marhatta Governors of Orissa.

A third possibility is that the tombs might be those of some pet animals of some Muhammadan Nabob or Subadars of Orissa. This view seems to be reasonable as it is supported by four eminent Muhammadan scholars.[1] Such tombs of pet animals do exist in Northern India. They stretch from east to west simply to indicate that they are not the tombs of the Muslims. Pictures of ducks, elephants, etc. on one of the tombs further confirm the view that they are not the tombs of the Muslims.

The Embankment on the river Kathjori within the Lalbagh Compound

It would be evident on examination that the upper portions of the embankment on the Kathjori near the Lālbāgh are of a later age than the original lower portions of the embankment. The unusually large number of bastions projecting into the river from the embankment near the Lālbāgh also suggest that at least some of these were built at a much later date to assure more safety to the official residence of the Mughal and Marhatta Governors or British administrators. This and the raising of the upper level of the embankments might have become necessary due to the rise in the river bed as it gradually silted up with the passage of years resulting in higher and still higher flood levels.

The raised platform towards the east of the Raj Bhavan adjoining Mansoor Saheb's Mosque might have been the private prayer hall of the Mughal Governors. It might also be the floor of a house of the original Lālbāgh palace. This is more probable since the steps as well as the huge extent of the platform appear to be remnants of a palace rather than that of a private prayer hall.

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1. Professors Ashgar Ali of the Utkal University, Sayyad Hasan Askari of the Patna University, Abdul Rashid of the Aligarh Muslim University and Shri Ashraf Hossain, f.n., (Muslim Epigraphist) to the Government of India.

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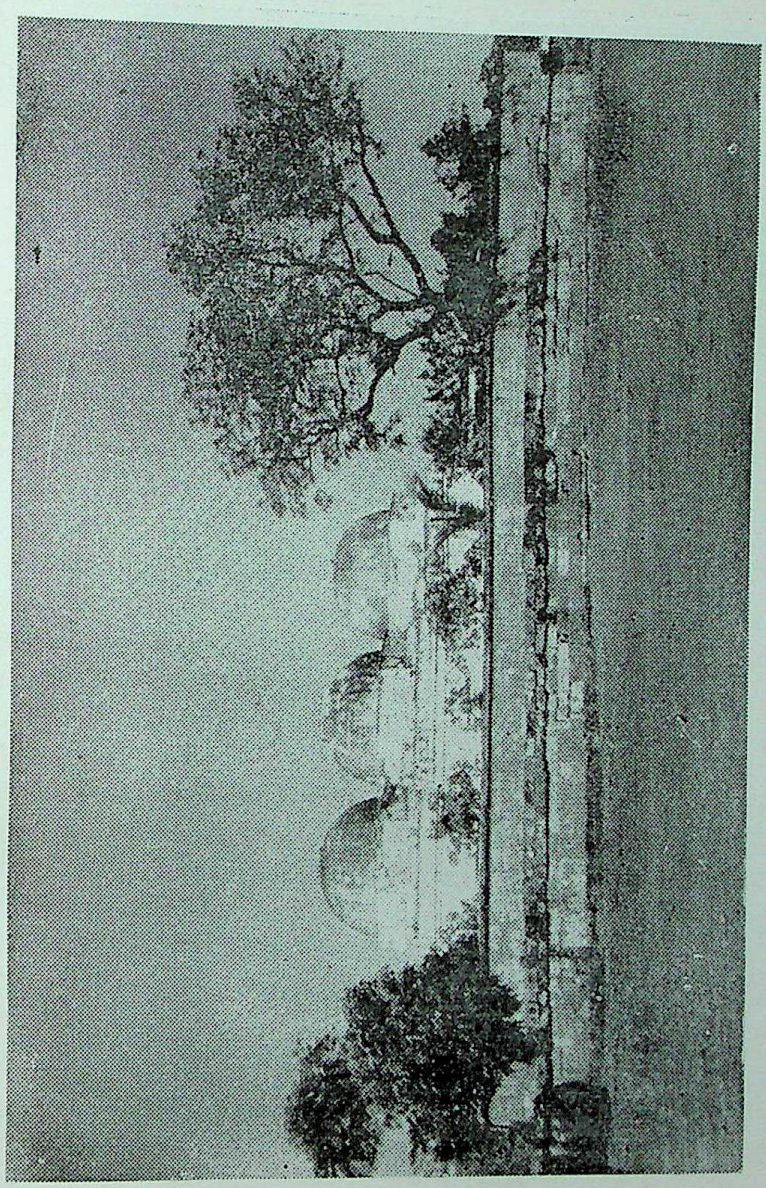
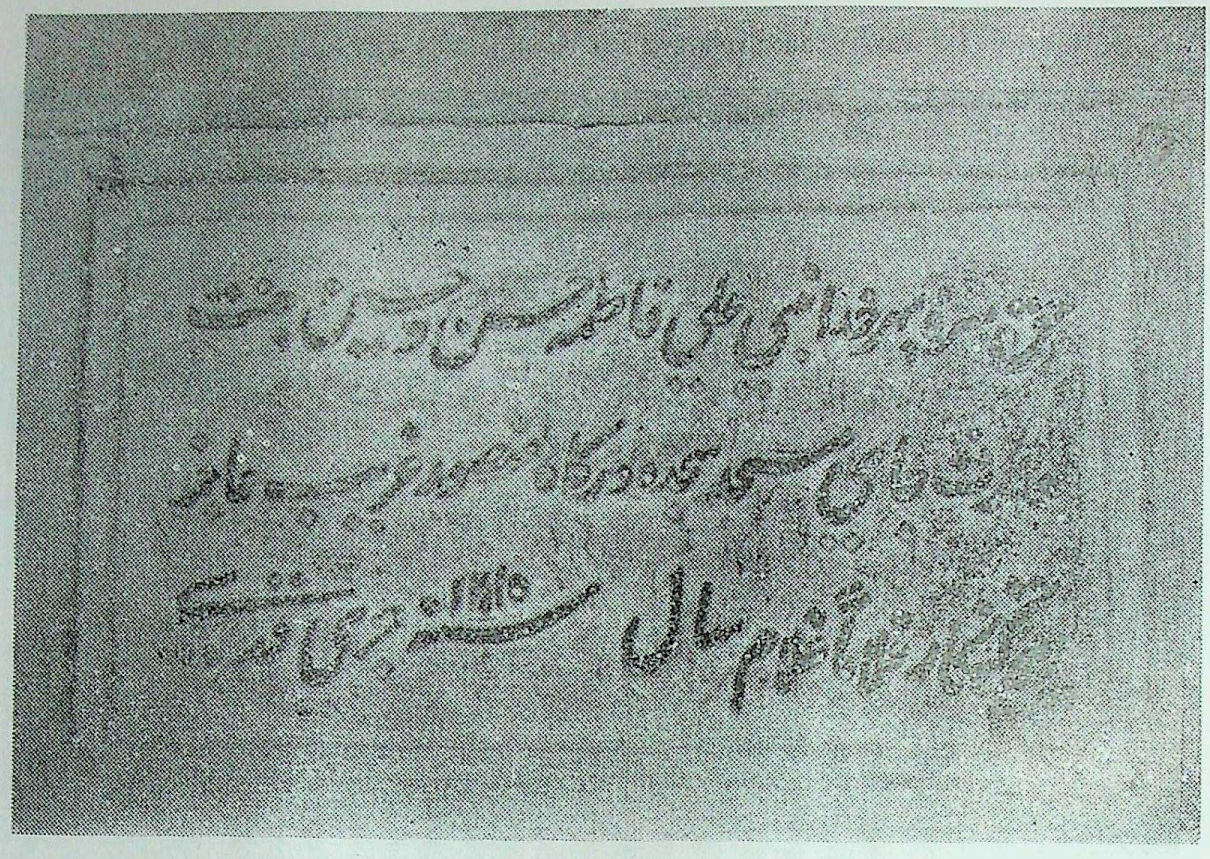


OLD MOSQUE INSIDE THE BARABATI FORT



ANCIENT INSCRIPTION ON THE WALL OF SAINT SYED MANSOOR SHAH'S MOSQUE IN THE COMPOUND OF THE RAJ BHAVAN AT CUTTACK

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Appendix A

The Persian inscription of Shah Mansoor's mosque in the Lalbagh compound :—

Haque Sírrahú bahr-i-Khódá nabí (sallalláhó alaihé wasallam), Alí (razíalláhó anhó), Fátemá (razíalláhó anhó), Hasan (razíalláhó anhó), Hósain (razíalláhó anhó), jannat waris, jái masjíd, śijdagáh dargáh Mansóór, gharib, ájiz, yeteem, gunahgár, ghóláman ghólám, sál san hazár o dó sad o pánjdoh Hijrí, qudsi.

English translation :—

May his secret be sanctified for the sake of God, Prophet (may peace and blessings of God lie on Him), Ali (may God be pleased with him), Fatema (may God be pleased with her), Hasan (may God be pleased with him), Hosain (may God be pleased with him), who are heins of Paradise. This is a mosque which is the place of paying obeissance to the tomb of Mansoor (who was) poor, humble, orphan, slave of slaves. The holy year of 1215 Hijri (=1800 A.D.)

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Corroboration of Marco Polo's Account of India from Indian Sources

By

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(Formerly Professor of History, Presidency College, Calcutta)

[In this article Dr. Ghoshal has tried to confirm some particulars in Marco Polo's account of India with the help of data drawn from two Indian sources, *viz.*, the *Mānasollasa*, attributed to King Somes'vara III of the Western Chalukya dynasty of *Kalyāṇī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva Bhatta. Both these sources belong to the centuries immediately preceding the thirteenth, in the latter half of which the Venetian travelled through Asia. —*Ed.*]

The enormous extent of the journeys of the Venetian Marco Polo through the lands of Eastern and Southern Asia (till then but imperfectly known to Western Europe) by land and sea in the latter half of the thirteenth century A. D. has justly earned for him the title of "the king of mediaeval travellers." The account of his extensive and arduous travels constitutes a veritable mine of accurate and valuable information concerning the contemporary social, political as well as economic conditions of the countries of the Asiatic continent. His description of Southern and Western India, which he visited on his return journey from China about the year 1293 A.D., though brief in comparison with his ample notice of the Chinese Empire, shares in the general characteristic of his writings. In the present paper we have attempted to test (as does not appear to have been done heretofore) this description in the light of some data drawn from Indian literary sources during the immediately preceding centuries. We, of course exclude the traveller's references to such well-known Indian Institutions as the custom of widows' burning themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands and that of dedication of girls by their parents to the service of temples.[1]

Economic conditions

As regards the state of Indian industries Marco Polo observes in the course of his description[2] of "the kingdom of Cambaet" (Cambay), which he curiously enough distinguishes from the kingdom of Gujarat, that its

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1. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, tr. & ed. by Sir Henry Yule, revised by Henri Cordier, Vol. II, pp. 341, 345.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 398.

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people made much fine "buckrams" (cotton-stuffs). Again he says[1] while describing "the kingdom of Mutfili" (Moṭupalle *i.e.* the Kākatīya kingdom of Warangal) that it produced the best and the most delicate as well as the most costly "buckrams," which looked like the tissue of a spider's web and which no king or queen in the world could not but be glad to wear. From the above account it appears that Gujarat and still more the Telagu country enjoyed, towards the close of the thirteenth century, the reputation of being the centres of the manufacture of fine varieties of textiles. We have a striking corroboration of this reference in the late eleventh century work, *Mānasollāsa*, attributed to King Someśvara III of the Western Chalukya dynasty of Kalyāṇī. For the author mentions,[2] in the course of an enumeration of the king's ward-robe, fabrics manufactured at Nagapatam (Nāgapattana) and Aṇilavāḍa (Anahilapāṭaka, capital of Gujarat, of which Cambay was the principal emporium). As for India's foreign trade Marco Polo speaking of "the kingdom of Melibar," which he somewhat incomprehensibly distinguishes from "the kingdom of Coilum" (Quilon), observes[3] that ships from the East brought thither cloths of silk and gold and "sendals" (a silk-texture). The great centres of manufacture of these products, as we learn from the author's preceding accounts,[4] were some Chinese cities such as (to give them their modern names) Si-ngan fu, Ho-kien fu, Pao-ying-Hien, Ngan-King, Chin-Kian fu and Su-chau. It follows from the above that Chinese silks and gold-embroidered cloths formed an article of South India's import trade in the late thirteenth century A. D. Polo, again, is our authority for the statement[5] that large numbers of horses were exported from the ports of the South Arabian coast and the Persian Gulf (Dofar, Soer, Aden, Esher, Hormuz and Calatu) into India in his time. He also notices[6] the huge profits derived by the Arab and Persian merchants from this trade. The high quality and large scale of these foreign imports are vouched for likewise by Indian writers of the eleventh century. The *Mānasollāsa* includes, in its enumeration of the king's ward-robe in the passage above quoted, stuffs of Chinese manufacture (*Mahāchīnabhava*). Again a story in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[7] tells us how a foreign merchant arrived at Kanchi with 20,000 horses and countless

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1. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Yule and Cordier's tr., Vol. II, p. 361.
2. *Mānasollāsa*, ed. G. K. Shringondekar (1939), III, pp. 1017-20.
3. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Yule and Cordier's tr., Vol. II, p. 390.
4. *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 24, 132, 152, 157, 176 & 181.
5. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 83 ; Vol. II, pp. 340, 370, 395, 483, 444 & 450.
6. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 83 ; Vol. II, p. 340.
7. Somadevabhatta, *Kathāsaritasāgara*, ed. Pt. Durgaprasad and K. P.P. Parab, (1915), XLIII, pp. 75 f.

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quantities of good cloth manufactured in China (*Chīnadeśaja*) to dispose of his wares.

Social Conditions

Speaking of "the kingdom of Cail" (Kāyal on the Tāmraparṇī river[1] *i.e.* the Chola kingdom), Marco Polo describes one of its peculiar customs which was destined to survive far down into the period of the Vijayanagara kings, namely, duel fights between combatants. When a man, we are told, intending to offer a gross insult to another, spits out betel-leaf juice on his face, the latter obtains the king's permission to fight the former. "The king supplies the arms which are sword and target, and all the people flock to see, and there the two fight till one of them is killed." Speaking of another custom in "the kingdom of Maabar" (the Paṇḍya kingdom), the same author tells[2] us that a criminal condemned to death may choose to kill himself in honour of a deity. When he has obtained the government's permission, his kinsfolk and friends lift him on a cart and conduct him all about the city with a public proclamation of his intended sacrifice. Reaching the place of execution he repeatedly inflicts stab wounds on his person, till he kills himself outright. When he is dead, his kinsfolk take the body and burn it with a joyful celebration. We have a striking reference to the first named custom in *Mānasollāsa*[3] describing the branch of a king's amusements concerned with the exhibition of duels between combatants (*aṅkavinoda*). Defining the *aṅka* as a man who fights with another in a public arena with the same weapons, the author divides this class into eight types with distinctive titles. Of these the first type consists of one who has been overpowered by another by means of abuse, assault, striking on the head, spitting a mouthful of betel-leaf juice, cutting off the hair and so forth. Here the correspondence between one variety of the Indian and the foreign reference to duel fight is sufficiently evident. Of the second custom mentioned by Polo, we have no precise parallel in the *Mānasollāsa* text above quoted. The author, however, refers to a type of *aṅka* meaning one who, having committed some sinful acts out of heedlessness, fights with another with the king's permission for washing away his sin. Reference is also made to another type involving one who, having been convicted for a crime, is made by the king to fight with another by way of punishment.

Mentioning yet another custom prevalent in "the Maabar province,"

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1. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Yule Cordier's tr., Vol. II, p. 371.
2. *Ibid*, Vol. II pp. 340-41.
3. King Someśvara, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 829 f.

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Polo observes[1] that all the people, great and small, from the king and the barons downwards sit upon the ground only. Rejecting the author's alleged ground for this custom ("We all spring from the earth and to the earth we must return"), we find its corroboration in *Mānasollāsa.*[2] Here the author, in the course of an enumeration of the king's seats, observes that the ground seat is always the best on occasions of musical entertainments, sports with elephants and horses and delightful company. We may mention, lastly, a point of social manners noticed by Polo in the course of his description[3] of the people of "Maabar and Coilum," namely, their sexual laxity. Of this we have a striking parallel in a reference to the people of Gujarat, in king Kumārapāla's time (c. 1143-72 A.D.) in the thirteenth-century allegorical drama the Moharāja-Parājaya composed by the poet Yaśaḥpāla. In Act IV of this work we read that when the king issued an order to his police officer for the arrest and banishment of the four personified vices, namely, Gambling, Meat-eating, Drinking and Slaughter (Theft and Adultery having already been banished by his orders), he declared, significantly enough, that the pitiable vice concerned with prostitution (*veśyāvyasana*) might be ignored and that it did not matter whether he went or stayed.

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1. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Yule and Cordier's tr., Vol. II, p. 341.
2. King Someśvara, *op. cit.*, III, p. 1141.
3. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Yule and Cordier's tr., Vol. II, pp. 343 and 376.

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The Kuka Outbreak

By

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[The Kuka sect among the Sikhs has always been notable for its religious and nationalistic outlook. Dr. Gupta has brought out in great detail the causes which led to the Kuka outbreak, the precipitate action of Mr. Cowan, the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana in executing all the sixty-six prisoners after a summary trial and the disapproval of his action as well as that of Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of Ambala Division, by the Governor-General-in-Council. The Governor-General took the very wise step of dismissing Mr. Cowan and transferring Mr. Forsyth to Oudh. The public confidence was restored by emphasising the supremacy of law and laying down the broad principles of administration for the guidance of civil and military officers.—*Ed.*]

The Kuka outrages at Malodh and Maler Kotla in Ambala division in January, 1872, towards the end of the viceroyalty of Lord Mayo, convulsed the eastern part of the Panjab about fourteen years after the gigantic upheaval of 1857. They could not pass unnoticed by the Viceroy and his Council and Her Majesty's Government in England. Questions about them and also about the conduct of British officers engaged in their suppression were raised in the Parliament. The House of Commons called for information and decided to publish relevant papers on the subject with a view to allaying doubts and misapprehensions about the nature of insurrections, the means adopted for their suppression and the principles governing the conduct of officers placed in difficult and trying situations.

The origin of these insurrections seems to be somewhat shrouded in mystery. Hence it is difficult to spot out in very clear, definite and categorical language the exact cause of their origin. While certain references contained in the correspondence indicate socio-religious origin of the outrages, the British officers engaged in their suppression gleaned a politico-communal motive[1] through them. But no clear exposition of those aspects beyond certain circumstantial evidence of a superficial nature is available anywhere. However, on the basis of the material obtainable it can be safely visualised that these incidents reflected a

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1. From Lt. Col. E.N. Perkins, D.S.P., Ludhiana, to Maj. A.H. Bamfield, D.I.G. of Police, Ambala Circle, (No. 56), 6th Feb., 1872.

From L. Cowan, Officiating D. C. of Ludhiana, to T. D. Forsyth, Commissioner of Ambala Division (No. 16), 17th January, 1872.

From L. H. Griffin, Officiating Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab, to E. C. Bailey. Secy. to the Govt. of India, 26th Jan. and 2nd July, 1872.

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symptom of discontent against British rule, resentment against judicial decisions taken by the Chief Court on the Raikot and Amritsar murder cases and dissatisfaction with the religious policy of the Government permitting kine-killing by Muhammadan butchers, a practice fundamentally repugnant to the concepts of Hindu religion and highly revolting to the religious sentiments of the Kuka sect. But to attribute to the Kukas a motive to subvert British rule appears to be an unrealistic and fantastic afterthought and betrays the unreasonableness of a mind unduly alarmed and a tendency to exaggerate things and view them through coloured glasses. If due regard to their religious susceptibilities was given and they were sympathetically handled, the outrages would not probably have occurred at all.

The Kukas were a religious fraternity like the Satnamis of Aurangzeb's time. They were a small minority in the population of the eastern part of the Panjab having their headquarters in Ludhiana district and were spread over all the adjoining subordinate principalities like Patiala, Maler Kotla, Nabha and Jind. They were men of strong determination, quiet and peaceful by temperament, greatly devoted to their religion and loyal to their order. They were very much opposed to kine-killing, a practice indulged in by the Muslims, and had always looked upon incidents of that nature with the greatest disapproval and indignation. They were not pleased with the alien rulers who had permitted that practice. Moreover, whenever there was any incident on the occasions of cow-sacrifices they were suspected, harassed and punished. Hence, driven to desperation by the continuance of the highly provocative practice they showed resentment by violent actions against those responsible for their harassment and troubles.

As early as 1794, just on the eve of the rise of Ranjit Singh, when the Panjab was loosely governed by twelve ill-organised Sikh *misls* and was in a state of virtual anarchy, the Kukas had attacked Maler Kotla for cow-killing activities in that state[1] and terrorised its Afghan ruler into stopping the practice objectionable to them. Out of their fear cows were not killed at least openly for a long time, but later on the practice had gradually revived under British protection. Disgusted by the revival of this practice some Kukas launched a murderous enterprise and killed a few butchers, notorious for cow-killing, at Amritsar, Raikot and Morinda in 1870 and 1871, presumably against the advice of their Guru, Ram Singh. For this crime several Kukas were arrested on suspicion and sentences of

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1. From Forsyth to Griffin, 8th April, 1872, No. 153.

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death were passed on twelve persons including two influential Kukas, Giani and Ratan Singh in December, 1871.[1]

Soon after, on the 10th or 11th January, 1872, a large number of the Kukas assembled in the village of Bhaini, the place of residence of their Guru and the nerve-centre of their activities, on the occasion of the Maghi fair which lasted up to the 13th January.[2] For about three days there was feverish activity amongst them. Certain influential but desperate members of the fraternity like Hira Singh and Lehna Singh, two men of Sukrondi in the state of Patiala, who had formerly been in affluent circumstances but had later on become poor and discontented, collected a number of desperados round them and worked them into a state of frenzy and excitement by prayers, preachings, recitations and fiery speeches.[3] Irritated by the execution of their brethren implicated in the Amritsar and Raikot murder cases and determined to avenge their death,[4] they organised themselves, created public opinion against the British Government and the subordinate native states and planned to attack the palace and treasury of the Nawab of Kotla with a view to launching a crusade against the abhorrent practice of cow-killing in that state and elsewhere in the adjoining areas.[5] The persons who dedicated themselves to this task sold off their belongings and organised themselves into a band of 'mastanas' ready to sacrifice themselves at the altar of religion. Their emotions became uncontrolled and they could not be dissuaded from hasty and precipitate action.

On receipt of information from the *lumbardar* and *chowkidar* of Bhaini, Sarfraz Khan, the Deputy Inspector of Police on duty at the fair, proceeded to the reported place. There he witnessed the first signs of disaffection and immediately approached Ram Singh and told him to keep his followers under control. Ram Singh went up to them and entreated them not to create a row. But finding the situation beyond his control, he reported his helplessness to Sarfaraz Khan and supplied him some information about their number, leaders and their contemplated outrage.[6] Later on T.D. Forsyth, the Commissioner of Ambala division, scented a deep game in the attitude of Ram Singh and his scanty report to the police. He regarded the tendency of the Kuka teachings appealing to the deep-rooted and wide-spread prejudices against cow-killing and the character of their

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1. From Perkins to Bamfield, 6th Feb., 1872, No. 56.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Report from Cowan to Forsyth*, 17th Jan., 1872, No. 15.
4 & 5. *Ibid.*
6. From Cowan to Forsyth, 15th Jan., 1872, No. 14.

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preachers as objectionable. Believing Ram Singh's complicity in the affair, he treated his declaration, as false and a ruse to escape responsibility for acts of his followers and refused to admit that he was guiltless.[1] On the contrary, Lt. Col. E. Perkins, the D. S. P. of Ludhiana, was of the opinion that the activities of the Kukas were quite premature and against the wishes of Ram Singh who had a plan of his own for far more serious disturbances at a more ripe and opportune time.[2] That Ram Singh had a plan to raise the standard of revolt at some better time seems to be a baseless view of an alarmist mind. That he had no direct hand in the contemplated outrages of the Kukas appears to be quite clear. But how far and to what extent he was indirectly responsible for them, it is difficult to say in the absence of a clear evidence. However, Sarfaraz Khan deputed a police serjeant to watch the activities of the excited Kukas. Later on, having received a report of their entry in Patiala territory he proceeded post haste to Ludhiana on the same night and reported the matter to L. Cowan, the D.C., who immediately contacted the Vakils of Kotla and Patiala, informed them about the imminent danger to their states and asked them to keep their states prepared for any possible eventuality.[3]

At about 2 P.M., on the afternoon of the 13th January, a gang of about 100 Kukas left Bhaini and proceeded via Rampur and Pael, in Patiala territory, to Rubbu, a village 3½ miles from Malodh on the border of Patiala state with the intention of attacking Kotla. There they halted for the night and the next day took rest, mustered strength and planned an attack on Malodh in the British territory to obtain arms and horses for an eventual drive against Kotla. On the 15th morning the Deputy Inspector of Dehlon reported that on the 14th, at dusk, about 200 Kukas suddenly and unexpectedly attacked Malodh fort, 20 miles south of Ludhiana, belonging to Sardars Mith Singh and his son Badan Singh, the two Chiefs related to the Maharaja of Patiala and known for their loyalty and great attachment to British Government. As Sardar Badan Singh, in the capacity of an honorary magistrate, had helped the English in apprehending the Kukas in connection with the murder cases, they called him a protege of the English, abused him in so many other ways and attacked him furiously. But on account of stiff resistance put up by the people of Malodh the success of the Kukas was very little. They killed two men including Munshi Nabi Baksh, wounded Sardar Badan Singh in the

1. From Forsyth to Griffin, 19th Jan., 1872.
2. From Perkins to Bamfield, 6th Feb., 1872, No. 56.
3. From Perkins to Bamfield, 6th Feb., 1872, No. 56.

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neck, secured four horses, a double-barrelled gun, three swords and in return left behind two of their number killed and four wounded prisoners.[1]

On receipt of these news L. Cowan, the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, communicated the news telegraphically to the Commissioner, summoned Ram Singh to Malodh for making enquiries, wrote to the rulers of Patiala, Nabha, Jind and other adjoining states for military aid and proceeded to the scene of occurrence accompanied by the D. S. P.[2] Forsyth contacted the Lieutenant Governor, ordered the defences of Ludhiana to be strengthened and arranged to send detachments of armed forces to Malodh. Considering the free movements of Ram Singh and his principal lieutenants obnoxious to peace, tranquillity and public safety, the Lt. Governor directed their arrest under Regulation III of 1818, although there was no direct evidence against them. He even conferred with the Commander-in-Chief and communicated the information to the Viceroy who telegraphed back to him to despatch most experienced officers available to effect enquiry and sift and ascertain facts relating to the cause of the attack and the persons involved in the serious outrage.[3]

Before Cowan could reach Malodh, the Kukas alleged to be 500 in number had proceeded to Kotla, nine miles from Malodh and 30 miles south of Ludhiana, and attacked the palace and treasury of the Nawab on the 15th morning with sticks, axes, *gandasas* and sword. They took possession of some arms, but failing to get ammunition threw them into a well. In an engagement before the treasury they were encountered gallantly by Ahmad Khan, the kotwal of Kotla, who along with seven members of his party was killed, fifteen others being wounded. Some people assembled with arms and a running fight was kept up till the Kukas left the town and reached the village of Rur in the Patiala state, 12 miles from Kotla, carrying most of their wounded, and escaped in a jungle outside the village.[4] Thus, this adventure of the desperados, whose number had never exceeded 125 but was greatly exaggerated to be 500,[5] also proved a fiasco. They failed to get the treasure and the arms. This dismal failure of their enterprise and a large number of wounded in their ranks chilled down their excitement and upset their plan. They were knocked up,

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1. From Cowan to Forsyth, 17th Jan., 1872, No. 15.
   From Perkins to Bamfield, 6th Feb., 1872, No. 56.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Telegram from Viceroy to Governor of the Panjab, 16th Jan., 1872.
4. From Cowan to Forsyth, 17th Jan., 1872, No. 15 and Perkins to Bamfield, 6th Feb., 1872, No. 56.
5. From Forsyth to Griffin, 17th Feb., 1872.

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disspirited and badly beaten. Beyond expressing their resentment, anger and irritation they gained nothing. At Rur, where they had escaped, the people were so much frightened that the entire village was abandoned.[1]

On receipt of information of the arrival of the Kukas at Rur, Syed Niaz Ali, the Naib Nazim of Sherpur, immediately reached the spot with a small party of *sawars* and asked them to surrender. After a short parley and bravado the helpless, hungry, tired and wounded Kukas gave up all hopes of success or escape and surrendered their arms and persons. Their capture was easily effected. No one was hurt. In all 68 Kukas including their two leaders Lehna Singh and Hira Singh and two women were captured at Rur. Out of them 29 were wounded, several of them very seriously. All of them were conveyed to the fortress of Sherpur, in Patiala state, for safe custody.[2] Thus, in their short insurrection of three days at least two-thirds of the whole gang were killed, wounded or captured. The remainder of them were hunted like vermin by a body of cavalry and many of them were actually captured[3] and punished severely.

Meanwhile, on reaching Malodh, Cowan met Ram Singh, interrogated him, asked him to go back to his village and then hurriedly left for Kotla. On his requisition contingents of troops rushed to Kotla from the adjoining states of Patiala, Nabha and Jind as well as from Delhi, Jalandhar and other places in the British territory.[4] They were placed at all danger spots in varying strength according to the degree of danger apprehended.[5] The Nazim of Kotla was authorised to raise immediately a body of 100 soldiers for its defence against any future outbreak. All other precautionary measures were taken to remove alarm and consternation, to nip in the bud any apprehended uprising and to guarantee public safety. Everywhere police and military arrangements were tightened and an effective police force was posted at Bhaini to watch the activities of the infuriated and enraged Kukas. Instructions were given to the district officers of the Panjab to increase the number of jail and treasury guards in their respective places. Orders were issued for rounding up of malefactors and disaffected perons. In course of time Captain Baillie captured 172 Kukas on mere suspicion at Bhaini alone and completey cleared it of all males.[6] Later on, Ram Singh and his influential associates, whose free

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1. From Cowan to Forsyth, 17th Jan., 1872, No. 15.
2. From Cowan to Forsyth, 17th Jan., 1872, No. 15.
3. *Ibid.*
4. From Govt. of India to the Secy. of State for India, 19th Jan., 1872, No. 7.
5. From Griffin to Bailey, 16th Jan., 1872, No. 9 C.
6. Telegram from Secy. Panjab Govt. to Home Secy. 19th Jan., 1872.

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movements were considered obnoxious to public peace, were taken in custody and without a thorough enquiry, were deported to Allahabad on the 18th January under a guard of 12 Gurkhas commanded by Jackson and were confined in the fort so as to render their rescue, escape or return to the Panjab impossible.[1] From there they were sent to Burma.[2] Those captured by Baillie were tried and sentenced to death, transportation or varying terms of rigorous imprisonment.

On reaching Kotla Cowan was terrified by the atrocities committed by the Kukas. The situation appeared to him to be very grave. He found people as well as officials terror-stricken and consternation prevailing everywhere. To him the incidents looked like the commencement of an open revolt, almost a prototype of the great rebellion of 1857. He held the view that the whole gang was guilty of bloodshed and that they would shed more if allowed any consideration and time.[3] Fearing a second attack of a more serious nature by a larger body he thought that leniency would be dangerous to public peace and would be mistaken for weakness.[4] Although the rebels were captured and general tranquillity was reported, yet frequent reports and rumours of another assemblage at Bhaini and an uprising at Rahun in Amritsar district and movements of fresh bodies of the Kukas flocking round Kotla from distant parts and different directions, threatening the outbreak of general outrages of formidable dimensions, continued to pour in and deepened his alarm.[5] The crimes deliberately planned and committed were fraught with the utmost danger to society from the secrecy of their conception and suddenness of their execution, confessions boldly made by them and exhibition of glorious feeling for their deeds were regarded as indications of the zeal with which they had acted in the past and might act in the future. Perkins called them "the most determined set of ruffians"[6] and reported that their conduct was most defiant and unruly, their language extremely abusive and their declaration, that they wanted no other government but that of their own sect, most emphatic.[7]

Cowan, therefore, showed great promptitude and energy in dealing with the situation effectively and stamping out the incipient insurrection.

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1. From Griffin to Bayey, 7th Feb., 1872, No. 59 C.
2. From the Govt. of India to the Secy. of State for India, 15th March, 1872, No. 17.
3. From Forsyth to the Secy. to the Govt. of Panjab, 22nd Jan , 1872, No. 27.
4. *Ibid.*
5. From Cowan to Forsyth, 19th Jan , 1872.
6. From Perkins te Bamfield, 6th Feb., 1872.
7. *Ibid* ; From Cowan to Forsyth 17th Feb., 1872, No. 16.

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He declared the prisoners as rebels and treated their offence as an extraordinary one, political in nature and murderous in expression. He charged them with murder, dacoity, open rebellion, subversion of order and contumacious resistance to the constituted authority.[1] Haunted by the ghost of the late mutiny, horrified by the gravity of the situation and holding a strong belief that a terrible example was most imperative to prevent, in future, a threatened occurrence assuming the proportions of a rebellion, he resolved to act vigorously, in fact recklessly. Goaded by an irrepressible but unreasonable spirit of terrible vengeance, he determined to inflict an exemplary punishment calculated to strike terror in the entire Kuka sect. The two women prisoners were made over to the Commandant of the Patiala troops for being sent to their homes in Patiala. Of the remaining 66 male prisoners captured at Rur, Cowan determined to destroy fifty at Kotla on the 17th January, reserving sixteen to be hanged at Malodh on the next day.[2] But one man somehow escaped from the guards and made a savage attack on Cowan, seizing him by the beard and endeavouring to strangle him. It was with great difficulty that his life could be saved and the enraged and powerful Kuka could be overpowered and cut to pieces.[3] Forty-nine were blown from guns near the scene of occurrence publicly in the presence of the notables of the neighbourhood. Among the Kukas thus destroyed were Hira Singh and Lehna Singh, the leaders of the gang and the instigators of the outbreak. The remaining sixteen were executed by Forsyth next morning in token of his tacit support to the policy of Cowan.[4] When the Governor-General came to know about these questionable executions, he telegraphed to the Lieutenant Governor of the Panjab to stop summary execution of the Kukas.[5] Future events showed that the alarm by which Cowan was swayed was unduly magnified and the drastic measures taken were quite unnecessary. It was reasonably questioned whether so many executions were, even under circumstances so trying, expedient and whether an example equally deterrent might not have been made by less indiscriminate sentences.[6]

In resorting to this repressive policy tantamount to a massacre Cowan had not acted thoughtlessly. He was conscious of the great responsibility he was incurring in exercising an authority which was not vested in him

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1. From Cowan to Forsyth, 16th Jan., 1872.
2. From Cowan to Forsyth, 17th Jan., 1872, No. 16.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. Telegram from the Viceroy to the Lt. Governor, 19th Jan , 1872.
6. Vide Griffin to Bayley, 26th Jan., 1872, No. 36 C.

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and in taking action which was irregular, unconstitutional and unwarranted by the facts of the situation. But he treated the case as an exceptional one, professed to act in the honest conviction that his action would be in the best interest of the Government and society and inflicted mass capital punishments in full confidence that they would meet with the approval of his Government. Ultimately he breathed a sigh of relief and felt great satisfaction that a rebellion, which might have attained large dimensions, was nipped in the bud.[1] Rewards were distributed by Forsyth from the Kotla coffers to persons who had distinguished themselves in apprehending the turbulent Kukas. Provision was made for the family of the Kotwal Ahmad Ali and others who had gallantly defended the property of the state at the expense of their lives. Money rewards of sums varying from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 50 were given to persons for their meritorious services in accordance with the nature of the services rendered by them. Letters of thanks were addressed on behalf of the state of Maler Kotla to the rulers of Patiala, Nabha and Jind for the valuable assistance rendered by them.[2]

The summary punishments bore the stamp of individual resentment. They indicated indiscriminate severity without any legal sanction. Cowan was not in any extraordinarily peculiar position which could have justified his conduct. The incident had occured in a native territory where British penal and procedure codes did not apply. Moreover, the culprits were taken captive by an officer of a native state and in the territory of a Prince over whom the Deputy Commissioner had no jurisdiction constitutionally. The cases of the criminals of the native states deserving capital punishments could be disposed of only by the Commissioner in his capacity as an ex-officio Political Agent of the protected native states lying within his jurisdiction.[3] In dealing with these cases the Deputy Commissioner deliberately overlooked the limits of his authority and jurisdiction and resorted to a highly illegal action warranted only by the former precedents of 1857-58.

The defects in Cowan's proceedings were patent in other ways also. No judicial inquries were made into the various aspects of the outrages, no cases were prepared, no evidence was collected, no attempts were made to ascertain and adjudge the degree of crime committed by each prisoner, and no opportunity was given to the accused to arrange for their defence. In short, Cowan set aside the necessary procedural formalities of law in deciding the fate of the culprits. As he had done all this

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1. From Cowan to Forsyth, 17th Jan., 1872, No. 16.
2. From Forsyth to the Secy. to the Govt. of Panjab, 19th Jan.; 1872.
3. From Forsyth to Secy. to the Govt. of Panjab, 22nd Jan., 1872, No. 27.

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without any authority from the Commissioner, his conduct presented a clear case of misconduct, insubordination, flagrant usurpation of the Commissioner's authority and wrongful act of arrogating to himself a power for which he was to look constantly to the superior authority for orders.[1] The punishment, besides being unlawful and unauthorised, was also extremely severe. All the prisoners were treated alike without any distinction between ringleaders and their followers. In fact all of them were not equally guilty.[2] Many of them were wounded and their execution might have been stayed by law.[3] Charges against them appeared to be sweeping and in several cases unfounded. By a less cursory inquiry various shades of guilt might have been discovered. Thus the excessive and indiscriminate severity shown by Cowan was as much questionable as was the manner in which the culprits were executed. Nothing short of an immediate and urgent necessity could have justified his proceedings but such an emergency did not exist.[4] When asked to explain his conduct he failed to convince the Governor-General-in-Council of the necessity of the measures taken by him.

The Commissioner exceedingly regretted the questionable proceedings of Cowan.[5] For a while he was placed in a highly embarrassing and difficult predicament, but soon he reconciled himself to the new situation. He upheld Cowan's view, confirmed his irrevocable action by ordering the execution of 16 prisoners on the 18th morning and tried to shield him by proclaiming the punishments inflicted by him as well-deserved. The Lt. Governor gave a clear exposition of the case to the Governor-General and pleaded for him explaining in his own way the circumstances of the case, the gravity of the situation and the likelihood of a general uprising. Fully inclined to believe that there was an intention of an organised rising and that success at Kotla would have completely changed the entire phase of the uprising, the Lt. Governor defended Cowan on the conviction that action taken in good faith must be supported.[6] According to him the two occurrences exemplified the difficult position officers may be placed in and the dilemma to which minds not perhaps exceptionally strong and necessarily much disturbed

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1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. From Bayley to the Secy. to the Panjab Govt. 8th Feb., 1872, Home Judicial No. 289.
5. From Forsyth to the Secy. to the Govt. of Panjab, 20th Jan., 1872, and 22nd July, 1872, No 27.
6. Vide the Govt. of Panjab to the Govt. of India 26th Jan., 1872, No., 36C and 7th Feb., 1872, No. 59 C.

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and excited may be exposed.[1] He, therefore, opined that any action against Cowan would be dangerous as it would lead to the growth of a wooden belief in the minds of the district officers that the only course they should follow with personal safety would be cautious adherence to technical forms and studied evasion of individual responsibility. He subscribed to the view of Cowan that his proceedings, however hasty, precipitate and irregular, were necessary for public safety and however indiscriminate, impolitic and unduly severe, they involved no absolute injustice to anybody.[2] But no amount of pleading and no attempt to overlook undesirable precipitancy, undisciplined presumption and unmeasured severity of Cowan could succeed. The Governor-General-in-Council, the ultimate guardian of law and order, took a serious view of the action of Cowan. He made full enquiries about the circumstances of the case, asked for explanation from Cowan[3] and detailed reports on certain specific points from Forsyth and Perkins.[4] Unconvinced by the flimsy explanation of Cowan and finding him guilty of violating the prescribed legal procedure, misuse of law and unlawful and unauthorized action, the Governor-General could not overlook, ignore or condone Cowan's proceedings, which were likely to excite animosities in the Panjab, where peace and security were deemed more essential than the exaggerated notions of an officer's prestige.

The Governor-General-in-Council felt that the summary measures of Cowan were inexpedient and unjustified. The prisoners were absolutely helpless. A large number of them were badly wounded and disspirited. They had surrendered to a very inferior number and were guarded by a powerful military force which could have been increased to any extent, if necessary. The Commissioner who had the legal authority to try their cases was not far from the scene of occurrence. When the extra-judicial executions were ordered disturbances had already been effectively suppressed and Cowan had at his disposal considerable bodies of troops to deal with the situation effectively.[5] There was no immediate danger of peace being seriously disturbed either by the prisoners or by the members of the enraged sect who were seen moving about harmlessly. On inspecting the arrangements made for the defence of Kotla, Cowan himself had felt

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1. From Griffin to Bayley 7th Feb., 1872.
2. *Ibid.*
3. From Griffin to Forsyth, 18th Jan., 1872, No. 22 C.
4. From Bayley to Griffin, 22nd March, 1872, No. 569.
5. From Bayley to the Secy. to the Govt. of the Panjab, 8th Feb., 1872, Home Judicial proceeding, No. 289.

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convinced that there was no danger of a successful attack.[1] If they had contemplated a general insurrection it would have miserably failed. But how in these circumstances Cowan felt justified in setting a terrible example is highly perplexing and unconvincing. His conviction that what he did was in the best interests of Government and society appears to be the result of erroneous thinking. His argument in defence of his conduct, that had the prisoners been left in custody to await a formal trial similar and even more serious atrocities would have been undoubtedly committed elsewhere and a state of anarchy would have ensued, is weak. His boastful assertion that the summary executions prevented the threatened outbreak is untenable and fantastic. His statement that the demeanour of the Kukas and their shouts, remarks and abusive language justified his conduct, eloquently indicates that he had lost his mental equilibrium and was swayed by maddening anger caused by an alarm unduly magnified and prejudices greatly deep-rooted. Hence, there was nothing to justify or excuse Cowan's indiscreet and highly provocative conduct of inflicting political murders on the prisoners whose cases needed regular judicial trial. The Governor-General-in-Council found it impossible to subscribe to the views of Cowan that he had acted out of no vain motive, sense of cruelty or desire to display his authority, but from a sincere and honest conviction that terrible punishment was imperative.[2] He felt convinced that future incidents were prevented not by large scale summary executions, but by the dismal failure of the first enterprise of the Kukas and that Cowan had committed a grave offence in setting aside the existing law and inflicting punishments according to a law made by himself.[3] Hence there was no occasion for extra-judicial action, for which Cowan deserved censure.

There were certain matters connected with Cowan's conduct which the Governor-General-in-Council cosidered it impossible to pass over with justice and which were brought to his notice at a very late stage of the proceedings.[4] They made it clear that his conduct was injudicious. On the 16th January Forsyth in his demi-official note had directed Cowan to keep prisoners in safe custody at Sherpur till he could send guards to take charge of them and carry them to Ludhiana for trial.[5] This letter reached Cowan before the prisoners had arrived at Kotla. But he put the

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1. *Ibid.*
2. From Cowan to Forsyth, 21st Jan., 1872.
3. From Bayley to the Secy. to the Govt. of the Panjab, 30th April, 1872, Home Judicial No. 857.
4 & 5. *Ibid.*

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note in his pocket and thought no more of it thinking that it contained only a suggestion which could not be acted upon.[1] In fact instructions to him were very clear. He was to keep the prisoners in custody and not to appropriate judicial authority to himself. The executions, therefore, could not be reconciled with the letter and spirit of the instructions and hence it was a grave error on the part of Cowan to have treated the letter from a superior authority with so scant regard. Thus the action of Cowan was not only highly irregular, precipitate, improper and unauthorised, but also injudicious and uncalled for by the facts of the situation.

The Governor-General-in-Council found certain other objectionable points which indicated the intransigence of Cowan.[2] After having blown away 42 or 43 prisoners, when the last batch of 6 or 7 prisoners was tied to the guns to meet the same fate, he received an official letter from Forsyth expressing disagreement with his views and giving him positive order to proceed according to law as the case was not so urgent as to justify abandonment of the simplest form of acquired legal procedure.[3] He was required to prepare the cases of prisoners and to submit them to Forsyth for final disposal. But he considered it inadvisable to stay executions of men already lashed to the guns and did not comply with the order.[4] In this case where the lives of six or seven prisoners were at stake and where the act he was going to commit was illegal, Cowan cared more for his personal prestige than for his dtuy to obey the orders of his superior. By this highly improper executive action, which was not in any way palliated by any public necessity and was fully characterised by a complexion of barbarity and inhumanity, the lives of the prisoners were, in principle, forfeited to the law and the course adopted was in brazen-faced disregard of the explicit orders received and in absence of sanction invoked but not awaited.[5]

Judging the conduct of Cowan even from the broad principles of administrative technique and requirements, the Governor-General-in-Council did not find it beyond reproach. It was bound to make a bad precedent dangerous to the growth of disciplined bureaucracy and contrary to the promises made to the people of India and supremacy of law designed to be established. The Governor-General strongly felt that Cowan should

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1 & 2. *Ibid.*

3. From Forsyth to Cowan, 17th Jan., 1872.

4. From Bayley to Secy. to the Govt. of the Panjab, 30th April, 1872, Home Judicial No. 857.

5. *Ibid.*

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have acted in a manner befitting an officer. His clear duty was to have detained the prisoners in custody till they could be proceeded against in due course in accordance with the prescribed procedure of law. As an officer while exercising public authority it was his solemn responsibility to observe steadily the forms and procedure meant for his guidance.[1] Contrary to this, his conduct betrayed lamentable lack of qualities, essential in a district officer, like coolness of temperament and firmness of mind in exciting circumstances and in moments of grave danger.[2] Swayed by temperamental aberrations he had lost mental poise and balanced sense of proportion and had allowed fear to influence his decision. His action was bad in policy, worth to be forbidden by law. It was considered imperative to check the growth of these tendencies from spreading into the ranks of administrative hierarchy.

Apart from all these considerations it appears that the public opinion in the Panjab was greatly aroused against the wholesale massacre illegally indulged in in total disregard of the principles enunciated in the Queen's proclamation of November, 1858. For district officers, endowed with wide discretionary authority, the flagrant action of Cowan was not absolutely new or astounding. But the times were fast changing and it was not possible to pass over it without arousing serious and damaging comments and creating repercussions dangerous to political and administrative structure so dexterously erected by British statesmenship. Moreover, the Panjab had been the sheet anchor of British policy and special consideration had to be shown to it on account of its loyalty in the face of serious provocations in the days of the gigantic upheaval of 1857. Thus compelled by the force of circumstances and needs and requirements of administration, the Governor-General had to disavow and censure the conduct of Cowan and pass orders for his suspension[3] and dismissal most regretfully.[4] However, on his strong representation endorsed by the Lt. Governor a pension of Rs. 300 p.m. was granted to him from the Indian exchequer for his meritorious services and spotless and unexceptionable service record of the past 23 years.[5] His failure was attributed in a great measure to the grave apprehensions which the proceedings of the Kukas in their exaggerated form had excited in his mind and the grave emergency which his character could not enable him to meet with wisdom and success.[6]

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1. & 2. *Ibid.*

3. From the Govt. of India to the Secy. of State for India 2nd Feb., 1872, No. 7.

4. From Secy. of State for India to the Govt. of India, 13th July, 1872, Judicial No. 32.

5. From Bayley to the Govt. of India, 30th April, 1872, Home Judicial No. 857,

6. *Ibid.*

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Forsyth's conduct, although perfectly legal, was equally objectionable and indiscriminate. In confirming the sentence passed by Cowan and in ordering the immediate execution of 16 persons, he had acted in a political rather than judicial capacity.[1] The Governor-General-in-Council felt that Forsyth's actions were injudicious and showed want of that merciful discrimination, which ought to characterise British administration of justice.[2] He gave an unqualified approval to all that Cowan had illegally done and which he himself had repeatedly forbidden. Thus he did not live up to his own views and committed the superior authorities to views repugnant to their judgment.[3] He reversed his own determination, formed and expressed earlier, in a case where interests of great importance were at stake. His support to Cowan's measures was not in conformity with his official position. He had fully identified himself with the errors of Cowan and had failed to discern his duty as a counsellor to his native government in a serious emergency and had acted eventually in a manner inconsistent with the recognised policy of the Government of India. For this neglect of duty he was removed from Commissionership and was transferred to a lower position in Oudh with a definite instruction that he would never again be placed in a similar responsible position to superintend the judicial proceedings of a native state.[4]

The decision of the Governor-General-in-Council went a long way in restoring the shaken confidence of the people and in establishing the principle of supremacy of law over individual discretion. It laid emphasis on the duty of officers to treat criminals in regular courts of law in accordance with the prescribed procedure. However, to meet the fears of the critics of his policy that it would take away initiative from officers and would be misunderstood by the people, the Governer-General-in-Council declared that whilst every officer will be fully supported in any measures, however rigorous, which he may be justified by law in adopting for the maintenance or restoration of peace, no one will be permitted to supersede the law at his own discretion or to show any remissness in the use of means sanctioned by law for suppressing crime and bringing criminals to justice.[5]

In view of the seriousness of the episode entailing flagrant dereliction of duty by the Deputy Commissioner necessitating strong action against him, and fear of similar illegal, unauthorised and precipitate actions being

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1 & 2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

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repeated by other officers placed in identical situations the Governor-General-in-Council considered it imperative to lay down in the most emphatic manner the following broad principles of administration for the future guidance of all civil and military officers under the British rule in India.[1]

(1) That the law of the land administered by the established law courts is the instrument to which government looks and in which it trusts for the purpose of suppressing crime, maintaining peace and deterring ill-disposed persons from following the example of malefactors.[2]

(2) That it is a grave act of insubordination and presumption for any individual officer to take upon himself to decide on the spur of the moment that the law is not strong enough to protect society or that punishments which can be inflicted in its ordinary course are not sufficiently severe to deter persons from crime. To do so is to usurp the highest prerogative of the Government. Cases may arise in which Government may consider it necessary to punish particular officers with exceptional severity or to arm particular officers with special powers of summary trial and execution; but till it is done the duty of all civil and military officers in all cases is to treat criminals, when captured, in the regular course of law; that is to say, to hand them over for trial to the proper tribunals.[3]

(3) This course is not inconsistent with any degree of vigour and promptitude which can be required in the most arduous circumstances. For the suppression of violent crimes and the apprehension and safe custody of offenders, the law authorises and indeed requires the use of any degree of military force which may be necessary for the purpose. There is no severity which by the usages of war may be inflicted upon enemy troops for the purpose of defeating and breaking them up which may not, in strict accordance with law, be inflicted upon bands of criminals whether rebels or not, for the purpose of their defeat or arrest. Rebels with arms in their hands, gangs of dacoits banded together for the purpose of robbery and murder, persons in the act of waging war against the Queen and all who aid and abet them, may and ought to be attacked by force of arms precisely as invaders may be attacked and might be killed on the spot.[4]

(4) The regular assumption of the office of the judge and of the legislator cannot be permitted to any civil or military officers in any case whatever. The law authorises officers to do whatever is necessary in order to suppress crimes and arrest criminals ; but neither law nor any principle of justice or policy justifies them in punishing prisoners, when taken, as they think proper.[5]

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1 to 5. *Ibid.*

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(5) To administer justice and mercy is the fixed and settled policy of the Government of India ; but it is absolutely essential to this great object that justice should be administered according to known rules, with due deliberations and with discrimination between degrees of guilt. Sentences pronounced under excitement and with little time for reflection are liable to be neither just nor wise. It is probable that they will bear upon them the stamp of individual resentment or anxiety rather than that of deliberate justice. Summary orders are often taken for the acts of vigour, when they are in truth acts of weakness. Such orders frequently show that those who give them, doubt their own strength and are afraid to be merciful to their opponents. The Governor General would not consent to assume the attitude in which the ratification of such acts would place him.[1]

(6) His Excellency-in-Council would not consent to be forced by the crime of a few fanatics into the sanction of acts repugnant to the whole spirit of British rule. The British Government is strong enough to keep order and suppress crime, and there is no occasion for indiscriminate severity ; nor in any case could exercise of such severity be a source of strength.[2]

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1 and 2. *Ibid.*

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The Rājput Empresses of Akbar and Jahāngīr

(Maryam-az-Zamānī and Jagat-Gosāini)

By

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[The author has estimated from a strikingly imaginative angle the part played by the Hindu ladies, especially Maryam-az-Zamānī, wife of Akbar, in the evolution of Akbar's nationalism based on Hindu-Muslim amity. According to him Maryam-az-Zamānī, though officially the third wife of the emperor Akbar, was yet regarded as the first empress in practice in the zenana and outside it. She exercised profound influence upon the Mughal darbar and it was due to her that the Rajput or Hindu influence grew there and ultimately gave birth to the new ideology of the emperor and his courtiers. He adds further that Jagat Gosaini, wife of Jahangir, did little in this respect and her indifference and Maryam-az-Zamānī's death resulted in anti-Hindu measures of the Mughals which led to the decay of their empire.—*Ed.*]

Historians are agreed on the importance of Akbar's association with the Rājputs which stablized the precarious conquests of his father and grandfather by enlisting the support of a native Hindu military class. The circumstances under which this association developed and the persons responsible for it, however, are little known. It necessitated a reversal not only of the Muslim, but also of the Rājput political ideology and power system. The Rājput feudal alliances led by the Mahārānās of Mewār from Kumbha to Sangā had been the sworn antagonists of all Muslim conquerors not only politically, but also socially. After the disaster of Khānua, 1527, and the death of Sangā, 1528, this alliance system had disintegrated. But Mārwār under Rāo Māldeo (1532-1562/8) had, to some degree, assumed the role which Mewār, torn by dynastic and party feuds, had ceased to play. No amiable relations were expected to develop under the then existing circumstances as the Rājputs looked down, with all their racial pride of " descendants of the gods " (Sūryavamsīs and Somavamsīs), upon the abominable Turks. True, some Rajput states had approached the Muslims for help ; the rājās of Amber and Bīkāner had appealed to Humāyūn and Shēr Shāh when Māldeo of Jodhpur had tried to annex their states ; the Rāos of Merta had done the same, and even Rānī Karmetī Hādā of Chitorgarh had offered her submission to Bābur in 1528 as price for the protection of her sons Bikramājīt and Udai Singh against Rānā Ratan Singh ; but all these were acts of desperation disowned at the first opportunity.

Akbar's association with the Rājputs, however, seems to have started in a very different spirit. For, whereas normally the Rājput princes

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loathed even the idea of a matrimonial relation with the Muslims, it appears from all sources that it had been Rājā Bhāramall (Bihārī Mal) of Amber who not only voluntarily submitted to Akbar, but also offered to him the hand of his daughter. It may be conceded that Bhāramall then had been in rather precarious circumstances. Thanks to the policy of Mewār and Mārwār, the kingdom of Prithvīrāj Kachhwāha had then broken up into a number of practically independent zamīndārīs, each ruled by one of his sons. And Amber was no more than one of them. Moreover Soja, son of Bhāramall's elder brother, Pūranmall, had instigated Sharafuddīn, the governor of Mālwa, to attack Amber. But Bhāramall had been introduced to Akbar several years before these difficulties had arisen and immediately after the victory of the Mughal army over the usurper Hemu. He had made a very favourable impression on Akbar because of his valiant behaviour, when an elephant ran mad. Yet so long as the Mughal policy was directed by the Khānkhānān Bairam Khān and the clique of Māhum Ānaga, this contact remained ineffective. However, Akbar asserted his own authority, banished Bairam Khān in 1560, and executed Adham Khān in 1561. Early in 1562, when he undertook a pilgrimage to the shrine of Shaikh Muīn-ud-dīn Chishtī at Ajmer, Bhāramall, his son Bhagvantdās, his grandson Mān Singh and his nephew Jaimall of Deosa joined the service of Akbar. Moreover, Bhāramall offered his daughter to the young emperor, who married her at Sanganer, bestowing on her the title Maryam-az-Zamānī. For several years this marriage was not blessed with a son, until on the intercession of the highly venerated Shaikh Salīm Chishtī of Sikrī, a descendant of Bābā Farīd of Shakarganj, prince Salīm, the later emperor Jahāngīr, was born in 1569.

This association had far reaching consequences. Rājā Bhagvantdās proved Akbar's most successful agent in winning over the other Rājput princes. It is true that this proved practicable only after a series of bloody campaigns and sieges and especially the capture of Chitorgarh in 1568, which demonstrated the hopelessness of their resistance. But whereas other conquerors had failed to hold their conquests in Rājasthān, Akbar became successful. With Bhagvantdās' help a system of political co-ordination and matrimonial alliances was cemented, which rolled up the Rājput states, isolating Mewār and Mārwār by 1570, wearing down Mārwār in 1581 and, at last in 1614, even Mewār, which was by then utterly exhausted. Amber now became the mightiest Rājput state, especially in the reign of Mān Singh who, as Mughal governor, controlled Bihār, Bengal and Orissa. Notwithstanding periodical setbacks, Amber-Jaipur has maintained this position up to the present day. Next in importance came Bīkāner, Jodhpur, Būndī and Orchhā. At the Mughal court and in the Mughal army the Rājput grandees

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balanced the Muslim Amirs, thus making the emperor the arbiter between the two groups and independent of both. During the decades between 1570 and 1620 Mughal civilization was practically half Rājput.

This Indianization of the Mughal empire would not have been possible merely for political reasons or because of the emperors' interest in general welfare. It needed a more subtle influence—woman. Though with the exception of Amber and Bīkāner most of the Rājput princes[1] had sent their daughters to the imperial zenāna under misgivings and duress, yet later on all connived at this association. These connections, however, made them the next of kin of the Mughal emperors and princes, and bound them, by Rājput standard of honour, to serve the Great Mughals loyally. On the other hand, both Akbar and Jahāngīr spent most of their private life in the company of the Hindu princesses, concubines, dancing girls and musicians. We have a number of old pictures showing them surrounded by these Hindu ladies. With them the Hindu rites, festivals, music, dances and artistic ideals also found a place at the Mughal court, as is proved by quite a number of old paintings, which once must have been kept in the imperial zenāna.

But most of these "secluded ladies" of Akbar remain anonymous to us with the exception of one, Maryam-az-Zamānī, the mother of prince Salīm. Officially she was merely Akbar's third wife, Sultāna Raqīya Bēgam and Sultāna Salīma Bēgam being her superiors as Mughal princesses of blood. But in practice she was the empress, the only one — except the emperor's mother, Hamīda Bēgam—who was always mentioned with the title Her Majesty (Hazrat). The great respect which Jahangir gave her is evident from his own description of a meeting with her near Lahore after his accession to the throne. He says: "I had the good fortune to be received by her. After the performance of obeisance and prostration and greeting, which is due from the young to the old according to the custom of Chinghīz, the rules of Tīmūr and common usage.....and after finishing my business, I obtained leave to return."[2] Many years later he again met her at Fatehpur and writes : "On the same day Her Majesty, the revered Maryam-az-Zamānī, came from Agra, and I acquired eternal good fortune from the blessing of waiting on her. I hope that the shadow of her bringing up and affection may be perennial on the head of this suppliant."[3] Even then she was the venerated head of the family, all the weddings of the imperial family being celebrated, at least in part, in her house. But slowly she faded out, sick and weak, and at last died in 1623.

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1. Būndī and, later, Udaipur were exempted.
2. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, transl. by Rogers Beveridge, London 1909-14, Vol. I, p. 76.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 68.

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There exists a portrait of Maryam-az-Zamānī.[1] Like all genuine portraits of the ladies of high status it bears no inscription,[2] but from all the circumstances its identity is beyond doubt. Jahāngīr, still approximately in his thirties and not yet worn out by excessive drinking,[3] stands respectfully before an elderly, somewhat faded, lady whose features express a mixture of great authority, intelligence and benevolence. She wears not the then usual female court costume, but a Sārī, the Rājput flower-button jewel in the hair and an elaborate royal crown. No other Rājput lady could have worn a crown, and no other could have faced Jahāngīr with such authority than Her Majesty Maryam-az-Zamānī. As at the time of the meeting at Dahr near Lahore Jahāngīr was 37 and Maryam-az-Zamanī ca. 60 years old, the double portrait seems to have been taken on that occasion. Moreover its style is characteristic of Jahāngīr's early reign.

It seems that in the eyes of Akbar and many contemporaries Maryam-az-Zamānī was more than merely an empress and mother of the heir-apparent.[4] What her real name was, we do not know. Maryam-az-Zamānī was merely a title conferred upon her by Akbar, which was a rare honour signifying "The Mary of the Age" or the mother of the Messiah.[5] Who could this Messiah be? Evidently the "Prince of Peace" born from the union of a Muslim emperor and an equal Hindu princess, the prince who would be a Mughal as well as a Rājput and, therefore, would overcome the bitter antagonism which had torn India for so many centuries. Akbar was a mystic and his dreams of a world religion, which at last he formulated in the Divine Faith (1582), must go back to the earliest years of his reign. For even then he had ecstatic raptures and

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1. F.R. Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, London, 1912, Vol. II, p. 201 b, present ownership unknown.

2. Inscriptions like "Nūrjahān," "Zēb-un-Nisā," "Chand Bibī," generally are fancy entries in order to obliterate the identity of the princesses really portrayed, when such miniatures left the zenāna for which they had been intended. These portraits can only be identified with the help of their male figures, and also by other portraits containing male figures and by the other circumstantial evidences.

3. He then had rather put on weight, as is also proved by the details of his annual solar weighing mentioned in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*.

4. In veiw of the scanty evidence, the interpretations in this and later paragraphs cannot claim to be more than tentative.

5. This title is not so sacrilegious in Muslim eyes. Though meaning a god-sent benefactor of mankind, it has nothing of the sanctity associated with the Holy Prophet, the Mahdī or even a Pir. e g. Jahāngīr conferred the title Masih-uz-Zamān on a famous physician.

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JAHANGIR MEETING MARYAM-AZ-ZAMANI AFTER HIS ACCESSION TO THE THRONE, 1606 A.D.

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also consulted the Hindu mystics.[1] The millennium was ahead. The birth of Salīm was celebrated with a fanfare never accorded to any other Mughal prince. Even the event of his birth was depicted in paintings exhibiting Maryam-az-Zamānī in labour, surrounded both by the Muslim and Hindu ladies and the Muslims as well as Hindus rejoicing over the most auspicious moment when that delivery had taken place.[2] If God's will had delayed the birth of this child, it had been only because he should have been born at the time reserved for the saviour king. A new town, Fatehpur Sikrī, was founded at the hermitage and the tomb built of the saint whose prayers had blessed this birth. The foundation of a new city has often been interpreted as the beginning a new chapter of history.

The existence of such an ideology even during the heyday of Jahāngīr's reign would explain the curious miniatures[3] which represent the emperor standing on a globe supported by a ram (Aries) standing on a fish (Pisces),[4] shooting at the head of Malik Ambar stuck on a spear to which the chain of justice is attached, and angels holding a crown above his head. In another miniature this scene is expanded by the portraits or name-medallions of Jahāngīr's ancestors. In a third one a crowd of ulamās pays respect to the scales of imperial justice. These miniatures vividly represent an insincere and ingenious flattery propped up with requisites borrowed from the contemporary European allegorical paintings and the pronounced Muslim character. But these have nothing to do with the background of an ideology proclaiming Jahāngīr as the sovereign specially elected by God. The custom continued under Shāhjahān also, though taken up with a little change in it.[5] Again, the angels holding a crown, the globe, the mullās, the scales of justice, and the sheep peacefully lying by the side

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1. The Chester-Beatty Collection has a miniature representing Akbar, still a small boy, wearing pure Chaghatāi dress, visiting the Hindu saint, Bābā Bilās. See Th. W. Arnold and J. V. S. Wilkinson ; The Library of Chester Beatty : *Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures*, London 1936, III. pl. 89.

2. E. Wellesz, *Akbar's Religious Thought Reflected in Mogul Painting*, London, 1952, fig. 22; A. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections*, Boston Museum of Fine Art, 1930, Vol. VI, pl. III; Arnold-Wilkinson, *op. cit.* II, pl. 21.

3. Delhi Museum of Archaeology : Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar 1911, pls. 39 a-b; Arnold-Wilkinson, *op. cit.* III. pl. 62; J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The British Indian Union Exhibition of Indian Paintings*, (Rūpam No. 40, p. 129 ff. 1929, fig. 4).

4. This is curious, because Aries and Pisces dominated the horoscope of Jahāngīr's younger and, then, long deceased brother Dāniyāl (see Abūl-Fazl, *Akbar-Nāma*, transl., Vol. II, p. 543). Jahāngīr was born under the sign of Libra (*Ibid.*, Vol II, p. 502 f.), the scales of justice, therefore, could symbolize Libra also.

5. F. R. Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters*, 1912, II, pls. 211-12; Arnold-Wilkinson *op. cit.* III, pl. 86.

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of the lion. The last symbol was used by the prophet Isaiah to depict the age of the Messiah, and it recurs also in Virgil's famous fourth Eclogue proclaiming the New Aeon to come under the rule of imperial Rome and according to the Christian reinterpretation, coming of the Christ. Shāh-jahān, the Grand Mughal, might have taken this symbolism merely for general glorification of his rule. Jahāngīr might have been aware of its original meaning, but being a sceptic and drunkard, he could not have belief in it. Akbar, in his old age, disillusioned and disappointed on account of his rebellious son and because of his deteriorating relations with the Rājput princes, might have become sceptical. But the young Akbar of twenty years at the time of his wedding with the princess of Amber, mystic, enthusiastic, energetic and full of visions of a new world to be created, probably thought otherwise. To him Maryam-az-Zamānī must really have meant the mother of the "Prince of Peace." We see similar dreams moving men and changing their destinies in our own time, whether this be the dream of the Communist paradise, Zion, the Third German Empire, Rām Rājya or something else.[1] Only such a dream could win over the Rājputs, only such a dream could induce Bhāramall of Amber to offer his daughter to Akbar and only such a dream could make Bhagvantdās a fervent apostle of the new empire.

But from these very circumstances it is evident that Akbar had been the object, not the author, of this political dream. Its authors we must search in the circle of the Hindus attaching themselves to the young Akbar and the Hindu reformers who tried to bridge the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims.[2] Akbar as a boy neglected by the Chaghatāī nobles, strolling about, hunting, meditating, secretly or openly discussing with the Hindu ascetics, and as young emperor summoning Tān Sen and Bīrbal, inviting Sūrdās and visiting Haridās, must have appeared as the ray of hope to liberal religious thinkers. who were disgusted with both the Hindu and the Muslim orthodoxy. The rājās of Amber must have also belonged to this very circle, because they were enthusiastic supporters of the still young Vaishnava mystic movement and built temples at Mathurā, Brindāban, Govardhan, Amber, etc. Moreover Bhagvantdās and Mān Singh had

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1. It is worth observing that Akbar's and Jhāngīr's contemporary, Ibrāhīm II Ādilshāh, also assumed a similar role as played by "Jagat-Guru".

2. The traditions and legends regarding this whole circle still need sifting. Besides the various references in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, *Akbar Nāma* and text books on Hindi literature, see also B. Prasad, 'Rājā Birbal', (*J. A. S. B. Letters*, 10, p. 41 ff., 1944); B. S. Sitholey, "Note on Tān Sen" (*J. U. P. Hist. Soc.* 21, p. 171 ff, 1948); P. K. Gode, "A Contemporary Sanskrit Trtbute to Tān Sen," (*J. Śrī Venkateśvara Or. Inst.* 8, p. 1 ff., 1947).

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been in contact with Bīrbal and Tānsen even before they were taken into his service by Akbar. Mīrā Bāi, the princess of Merta, might have also belonged to this group. Later orthodox legend has badly distorted the picture of this wonderful poetess and a great revolutionary into a narrow, vindictive fanatic. But as neither her association with Rānā Kumbha nor her death at Dwārka in 1546 can stand criticism,[1] the legends connecting her with Mān Singh, Tān Sen, Bīrbal and Akbar cannot be simply rejected. They fit exactly into the picture of those years. But then, is it not probable that Maryam-az-Zamānī also had been a convert to this religio-political ideal, and that her immense influence at the Mughal court[2] was due to her intensive efforts, from behind the walls of the imperial zenāna, to build up the Hindu-Muslim unity ?

Jahāngīr's Rājput empress was Jagat Gosāini. This name is also a very curious one. Possibly we may understand it in relation to the appellation, Maryam-az-Zamānī. For if the latter means the mother of the Messiah, the Hindu woman, adoring her husband like a god, would be a Gosāini, and the wife of the Messiah by analogy the official devotee of the Messiah, the Gosāini of the World. But the title was rarely used, possibly because it offended the Hindus no less than the Muslims ; for if a Gosāin was acceptable, a Gosāini was not. Why the title was accorded at all, is obscure. Possibly it might have been a brain child of Mīrā Bāi, the only female ascetic, who had dared to make a stand against a Gosāin (Jīv Gosāin of Brindāban) on the strength of her own mystic experience. Generally Jagat Gosāini was merely called Jodha Bāi, the princess of Jodhpur. She was married to prince Salīm in 1584, after the submission of her father Udai Singh, the "Mota Rājā." But this marriage was purely a political affair, and Jodha Bāi, not being the missionary of the ideology like Maryam-az-Zamānī, played no decisive role. If her name is at present remembered at all, it is because of the palace at Fatehpur Sikrī ascribed to her by tradition. The date of her death is not quite certain ; she probably died in 1619.

However, the pure, archaic Rājput architecture and the closed, self-contained outlay of this building show that it must have been one of the earliest structures erected at Fatehpur-Sikrī, occupied much before the rest of the imperial palace town was ready. Such a self-contained palace was

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1. I shall discuss about Mīrā Bāi in a special separate paper.

2. Even Jahāngīr's public deference towards her during the meeting at Dahr near Lahore seems to have been exceptional. His lengthy reference to "the custom of Chinghiz, the rules of Tīmūr and common usage" looks as if he felt obliged to justify an etiquette which had not been the general practice. For, at the time when the *Tuzuk* were composed, "Maryam-az-Zamānī" had become an empty title.

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formerly erected for Maryam-az-Zamānī, beyond the Great Mosque, and was known as Maryam-kī-Kothī or Sonahra-Makān. Later on, when she received another palace nearer the emperor's rooms, it seems to have been given to Sultāna Salīma Bēgam.[1] But as Jodha Bāi married only a short time before the abandonment of Fatehpur Sikrī, "Jodha Bāi's Palace" must have been constructed for some other Rājput princess married to Akbar much earlier. Most probably this was a princess of Bīkāner, daughter of prince Kahān, the younger brother of rājā Rāi Singh, who, next to Mān Singh of Amber, was the most influential Hindu prince at Akbar's court. She was married to Akbar in 1571 and bore him prince Dāniyāl in 1572. Apart from this we know nothing about her, and possibly she died soon[2] afterwards. As such Akbar might have given the vacant palace to Jodha Bāi.[3]

Jodha Bāi's political indifference had also to do something, if not much, with the crisis during Akbar's last years. When prince Salīm was at loggerheads with his father between 1600 and 1605, Mān Singh tried to induce Akbar to declare prince Khusrau, who was the child of Mān Singh's sister and prince Salīm, by another marriage, as heir-apparent. What his reasons were, we can only guess. Perhaps he was afraid that Salīm, who had already at Allahābād affected Persian manners and wooed the orthodox Muslims, might turn away not only from the house of Amber, but also from the Rājput association. Instead Khusrau, the son of an Amber princess and not less enthusiastic than Maryam-az-Zamānī, might have appeared to him as a ray of hope, even though he was a weakling. But the majority of the nobles, and at last the dying emperor, too, decided in favour of Salīm. As a matter of fact, Akbar must have been in a quandary. However disappointed he might have felt with Salīm, he could not publicly admit the failure of his own dreams, much less put in question the prevalent system of succession, without endangering his life work. After Jahāngīr's accession to the throne, Khusrau rebelled, instigated, amongst others, by Madho Singh, another brother of his mother. Khusrau was captured, made a prisoner of state and was at last murdered by Jodha Bāi's son, prince Khurram, the later emperor Shāhjahān. The great Mān Singh passed his days in disgrace, Mādho Singh drank himself to death and Khusrau's mother, torn between

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1. See also Muh. Ashraf Husain, *Guide to Fatehpur Sikrī*, Delhi 1937 ; S. K. Banerji, "Miriam-kī-Kothī or Sunahra-Makān of Fatehpur Sikrī," (J.U.P. Hist. Soc. 17, p. 163 ff., 1944). The Hindu decoration and a Rāma-Hanuman relief prove that the Sunahra-Makān must first have been inhabited by a Hindu lady. The Shāhnāma murals might have been added for her Mughal successor therein.

2. *Akbar-Nāma*, II, p. 518 f., 543 f.

3. Akbar left Fatehpur, for ever, in 1585, but some of the older ladies, like Maryam-az-Zamānī, stayed in the palace for many years afterwards.

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SULTAN SALIM AND JODHA BAI AT THE TIME OF THEIR WEDDING, 1584 A.D.

(Miniature, beginning of the 17th century)

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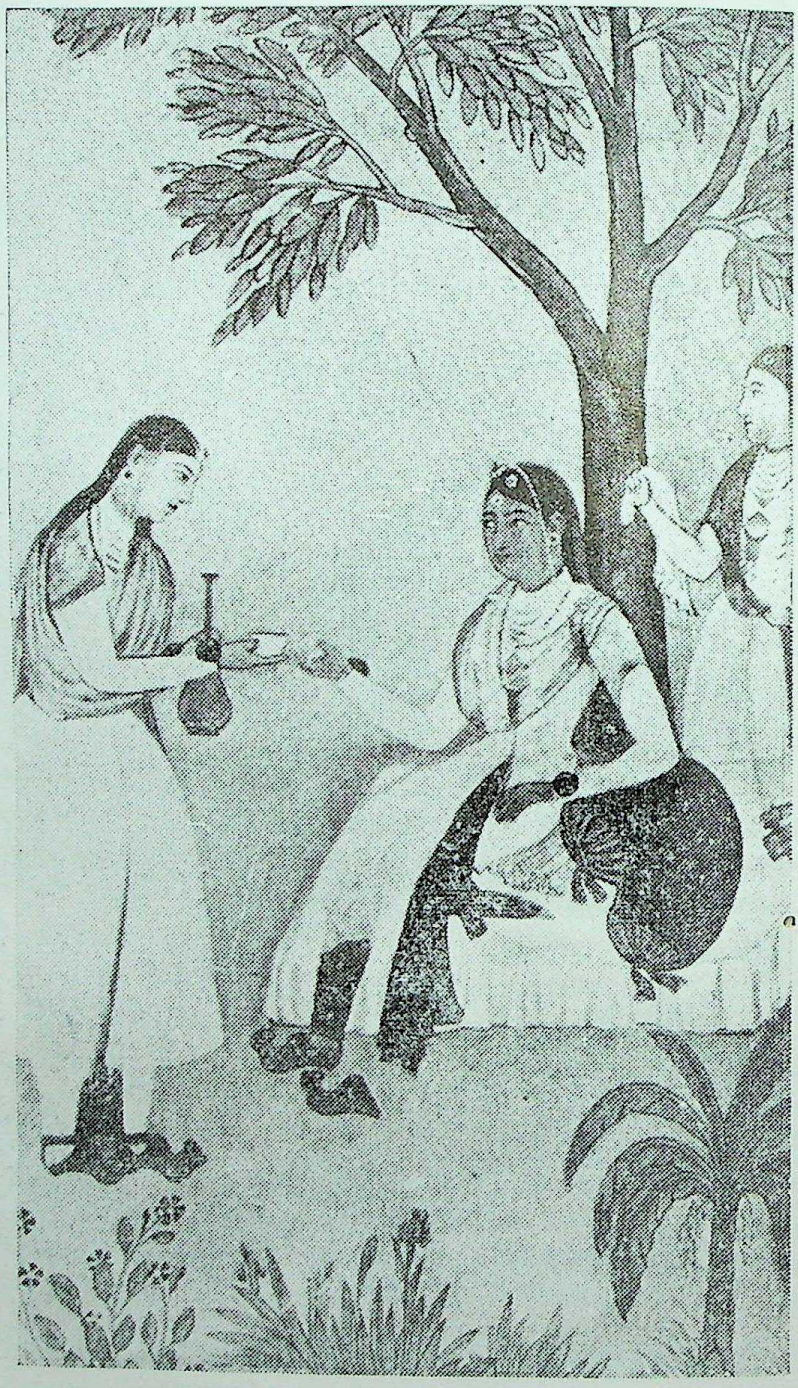

JODHA BAI, WIFE OF JAHANGIR
(Early 17th Century).

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her devotion to Jahāngīr and her love for her son, committed suicide by taking opium.[1] Like all members of her family, she had been high-strung. Jahāngīr paid her the highest tribute by writing: "Excellent, good and intelligent. Her devotion to me was such that she would have sacrificed a thousand sons and brothers for a hair of mine."[2] If anybody might have deserved the title Jagat Gosāini, it was she. Jahāngīr never made any such remark about Jodha Bāi, who de facto bore it.

Perhaps we can get an idea of Jodha Bāi from two other miniatures which in all probability represent her. For, again, none of them bears any inscription. One of these shows a young prince embracing a Rājput girl (facing page 132).[3] The young man cannot be identified with any imperial prince of that age at the time *i.e.* somewhere in the first decade of the 17th century when the picture was painted. But if one compares his face with portraits of the old emperor, Jahāngīr,[4] one is struck by the similarity of all essential features. We have, thus, to deal with a portrait of Sultān Salīm when he was still quite a youngester, near about fifteen years of age. Now, Sultān Salīm married Jodha Bai in 1584 when he was hardly fifteen. The miniature, therefore, might be a later replica—such as were not rarely executed in Jahāngīr's time—of a miniature prepared on the occasion of his wedding with Jodh Bāi. This surmise is corroborated by another miniature (facing this page),[5] which shows the same Rājput princess, much older, perhaps in her late thirties or early forties, and grown rather plump. And here the resemblance with her father, the dull, fat (Mota Rājā) Udai Singh of Jodhpur,[6] proves most remarkable. Her character also comes out clearly: a good housewife and mother, but without appreciable intellectual interests or high ideals; not cast for the romantic role of a "Jagat Gosāini," but just Jodha Bai, a wife and mother.

Thus the dream of the Mughal-Rājput, and in a wider sense, the Muslim-Hindu unity vanished with Akbar dead, Maryam-az-Zamānī weak

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1. Though Jahāngīr tried to satisfy the Amber family by marrying in 1608, a daughter of Jagat Singh, the eldest son of Mān Singh, and giving high positions to other Amber princes, but the glory of Amber was broken after the recall of Mān Singh from Bengal. His sons Mahā and Bhāo Singh likewise tried to forget the fall of their house in excessive drinking.

2. *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, Vol. I, p. 55

3. F. R. Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters*, II, pl. 201 c. Present ownership unknown.

4. Portraits of Jahāngīr's middle years are useless, as the emperor then was too well-fed.

5. H. Goetz, *Die Indischen Miniaturen der Berliner Museen* (Cicerone, Berlin, May 1923, p. 419 ff., fig. 2). Formerly in Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

6. A good contemporaneous portrait in the collection of the Mahārājā of Bīkāner.

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and old in retirement, Jahāngīr a sceptic and drunkard, Jodha Bāi indifferent, and the accumulating tension between the Mughals and the Rājputs. In the meantime Jahāngīr had married the Persian Nūr Jahān in 1611, and her influence over the emperor and the court grew from year to year. Amongst the Muslim nobles the intransigent teachings of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindī, the Mujaddid, bitter opponent of Sūfī tolerance vis-a-vis Hinduism, became increasingly influential. Prince Khurram, despite his double Rājput descent, had married Mumtāz Mahal, the daugher of Nūr-Jahān's brother Āsaf Khān. Maryam-az-Zamānī's death was followed by a series of crises, the revolt and defeat of Sultān Khurram, Nūr-Jahān's virtual co-regency (her name appearing on the coins, 1623), Mahābat Khān's short-lived coup d'ètat on the Jhelam with the help of the Rājput contingents, 1626, Jahāngīr's death and Shāh Jahān's accession, 1627. Now the second "Sāhib-i Qirān" (a title of Temerlane) had become ruler, and the empire slowly began to drift into an anti-Rajput or anti-Hindu attitude which under Aurangzeb developed into a conscious anti-Hindu policy. It led to various Hindu risings, the Rājput and the Marātha wars and lastly to the disintegration of the Mughal Empire. Even the fruits of Akbar's dream were wiped out.

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The Yusafzais and the Sikhs

By

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[This paper discusses in detail the conquest by the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh of the Yusafzais, a turbulent ignorant, fanatical and yet freedom-loving people of the North-West Frontier Province now in West Pakistan. The homeland of these tribes was situated in the valleys of the tributaries of the Kabul river. The territory had no value whatever as a source of revenue, but it possessed great strategic importance. The high road leading from Afghanistan to Kashmir passed through it and the key positions like the Khyber, Peshawar and Attock could be attacked through it. The conquest of this region by the Sikhs was a lengthy and difficult operation and cost the Lahore Darbar a great deal in men and money. The Yusafzais, though warlike and irascible like the other tribes of the neighbourhood, were not properly organised or united and the mutual jealousy of their chiefs made the task of their subjugation comparatively easy. Nevertheless fighting was bitter and the Sikhs had to employ to the fullest the military power for which they were so remarkable. They built a number of forts at all important points and sent their ablest soldier-administrators, but the Yusafzais were far from reconciled. Insurrections often fomented by the Mullas were frequent and severe reprisals had to be undertaken.

At the end of the First Sikh War in 1846, the district of Hazara, the home of the Yusafzais, was taken away from the Lahore Darbar and shortly afterwards it passed under the control of the British. *Ed.*]

Introduction

The conquest of the Yusafzais by Maharaja Ranjit Singh "was a difficult and lengthy operation costing him much in money, officers, and troops," and it was throughout marked by "continual fighting, raids and insurrections." The Yusafzais "were quite as fond of fighting and as gallant soldiers as the Sikhs themselves. What they did not possess was the power of organization, for which the Maharaja was so conspicuous, and which enabled him to subdue separately tribes which united might have successfully resisted him."[1]

As a source of revenue the Yusafzai country had absolutely no importance. "They pay very little revenue to the Sikhs and that not without the assistance of troops."[2] The total revenues of the Sikhs from the whole Yusafzai territory amounted approximately to Rs. 50,000 a year,[3] afterwards raised to about Rs. 70,000 or 80,000[4] and in 1844

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1. Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, pp. 198-9, 209, 212.
2. Shahamet Ali, *Sikhs and Afghans*, pp. 161-2.
3. National Archives of India, Foreign Department, *Secret Consultations*, No. 196 4 May, 1840; Ms. No. 352, p. 92.
4. *Ibid*, Ms. No. 351, p. 58; Ms. No. 352, p. 91.

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increased by Diwan Mulraj to Rs. 96,000.[1]

Nevertheless the tract was very much coveted for its strategic value. This was situated on the high road leading from Afghanistan to Kashmir. It commanded Attock "the key to the Panjab." The security of Peshawar and the Khyber Pass depended on this land. Besides, the Sikhs did not like to leave the fierce and warlike tribes of the Yusafzais to themselves, because their uncurbed and unchecked fanaticism was capable of submerging their own kingdom.

Homeland of the Yusafzais

"Along the whole frontier, from Karachi to Kashmir, there is nothing that, for the grandeur of its mountains, its plentiful streams, picturesque scenery, and charming variety, can touch the Hazara valley[2] and probably few can boast a more interesting diversity of people, more thriving villages..... A long tongue of territory, of thoroughly alpine character, with ring fence of lofty mountains that separate it from the rich valleys of Kashmir, and the vast waste of rocky and snowy peaks that go to make up Kashmir.....Cultivation covers every bit of level ground.....,and everywhere the cultivation is plentifully irrigated.....Water abounds here in every form. A wealth of wood and water, luxuriant grass and innumerable flowers, specked with thriving villages and prosperous homesteads."[3]

Such is the Yusafzai country consisting of a tract both plain and mountainous. The plain is in the west and the south, while the mountains are in the east and the north. The whole territory is bounded on the north by the Hindkoh (Hindukush) range of mountains, in the south by the Kabul river, by the Utmankhail mountains in the west, and by the 'solemn and severe' Indus in the east except Dhamtaur,[4] which lies across the river. This land embraces the valleys of Panjkora,[5]

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1. *Ibid.* Ms. No. 352, p. 92.

2. Hazara lies at the foot of the Himalayas in the north-west of the Panjab. The valley occupied the territories of Mansehra, Haripur and upper Tanawal. The total area was 3,062 square miles. (*N.W.F.P. Gazetteer*, p. 126; *Hazara District Gazetteer* (1907), pp. 196-7; Douie, *The Panjab, N.W.F. Province and Kashmir*, p. 299).

3. *Across the Border or Pathan and Biloch*, by Edward E. Oliver, M. Inst. (1890), pp. 330-1.

4. Dhamtaut is a narrow valley along the Door rivulet which falls into the Indus near Torbela. "The mountains are high, and on one side produce oaks, pine, walnuts, wild olives, and other hill trees; none of the European fruits or flowers are, however, found there. The trees on the plains are few. The country is thickly peopled, and contains some very populous villages." (N.A.I. Foreign, Misc. Ms. No. 336, p. 15.)

5. The upper parts of Panjkora are mountainous and thinly peopled, but the lower part of the valley is fertile and highly cultivated.

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Dir,[1] Swat,[2] Buner,[3] Chamla[4] and the northern part of the plain of Peshawar. The villages are numerous and large, some of them with two to three thousand houses, and have an appearance of ease and comfort about them.[5]

The People

This tract "swarms with an intrepid race of men, distinguished not only for the spirit with which they defend their own country and freedom, but for the alacrity with which they enter into any contest in support of their honour or faith."[6] The Yusafzais are divided into seven tribes and each tribe into numerous clans and sub-sections. The tribe, clans and section are distinguished by the suffix of 'Zai' or 'Khail', the former being a Pashto word meaning 'son' and the latter an Arabic word meaning 'son' or 'association.'[7]

Between the Siran river on the east and the long narrow chain of hills called the Black Mountains and the Indus on the west, there is a rough hilly tract known as Tanawal, 204 square miles in area. The western slopes of the Black Mountains near the western bank of the Indus are occupied by three sections of the Yusafzais-Chagarzais, Akazais and Hasanzais. These three branches also hold lands on the left bank of the river Indus. The hilly tract on the border of Peshawar district across the Indus and watered by the Barandu, a tributary of the Indus also called the Buner, is inhabited by Iliyaszais and Daulatzais, another sections of the Yusafzais. Of the rest of the tribal territory between the Peshawar district and the Hindkoh the Yusafzais occupy the valleys of Swat, Bajaur and Dir. The valley of Swat watered by the Swat and Panjkora rivers,

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1. Dir 60 miles from Chitral, altitude 5650 feet, is a hilly country and is watered by the Panjkora river and its tributaries. The Khan of Dir derived most of his revenues from the export of the timber, which was floated down the Panjkora and Swat rivers (*Imperial Gazetteer, N.W.F. Province*, p. 15; Douie p. 307; De Bourbel, *Routes in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 262.)

2. Swat is a green and fertile valley stretching to the south of Chitral along both the banks of the Swat river. The Yusafzais of this valley pay great obedience to their Khans and are not so much cominated by the Sayyide.

3. Buner is situated adjacent to Swat. It is composed of a number of little valleys all opening on the Barandu river which enters the Indus near Darband. It is noted for the production of a small grain called Kangani.

4. Chamla extend from lower Swat to the Indus and is bounded on the north by the low range of the hills of Buner. It is a broad valley. (N.A.I. Foreign Misc. Ms. No. 336, p. 15).

5. N.A.I. Foreign Department, *Secret Consultations*, No. 200, 4 May, 1840.

6. Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab*, Vol. I, p. 139.

7. *The North-West Frontier*, p. 9.

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tributaries of the Kabul river, about 70 miles in length and about 20 miles in breadth, is mostly occupied by the Akozai section of the Yusafzais. "The Swati is priest-ridden and treacherous. Even his courage has been denied, probably unjustly. Swati fanaticism has been a source of much trouble on the Peshawar border."[1]

A small tract lying between the Peshawar border and the hills is occupied by the Ranizai, a sub-section of Yusafzais.

Another extremely mountainous tract drained by the Bajaur, a tributary of the Panjkora river, is peopled by the Tarkanri clan related to the Yusafzais.

Dir, a mountainous territory, is almost entirely occupied by the Yusafzais.[2]

The Yusafzais living in the hills had no chief of importance and they were dominated by the Sayyids, the descendants of Pir Baba, a celebrated saint living in the days of Humayun.[3]

This is in brief the account of the Yusafzais living in the mountainous area called 'Kohistan.' We shall now have a word about those living in the plains called Sama situated below the hills. With a few exceptions the whole plain, perfectly level, is peopled by the great branch of the Yusafzais called the Mundur. The Malikzais, a powerful and numerous section of the Yusafzais, had its seat at Yar Husain, the largest village in the plain. The chiefship of the Yusafzais had been since the days of Aurangzeb in the Khudokhail section, of which Fateh Khan was then the head, and was known by the name of his residence at Panjtar. The chief of the Omarkhail clans was Arsila Khan of Zaidah. The Kamalzai branch had two chiefs of influence. One was Qadir Khan of Turu Myar and the other Ahmad Khan of Hoti Mardan. Mir Khan of Sadum called Mir or Babu was the most powerful of the Amazais. "His experience, firmness and courage have gained him much respect and enable him to rule with a stricter hand than the Yusafzyes in general will submit to." The Yusafzais of the hills and the plains were closely connected by ties of blood, clanship and religion.[4]

Conflicting accounts are given about the temper and disposition the Yusafzais. They are "warlike and independent; exceedingly rude and

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1. Douie, p. 306; *Hayat-i-Afghani*, p. 173.
2. Douie, pp. 299-307; *Hayat-i-Afghani*, p. 173.
3. N.A.I., Foreign, Miscellaneous, Ms. No. 336, p. 15.
4. N.A.I. Foreign, Miscellaneous, Ms. No. 336. p. 15.

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ignorant."[1] Though they are very hospitable, patriotic and proud of their descent, yet "there is a darker side to the picture, for these sons of Joseph are extremely priest-ridden and most of the disturbances in this area have been fomented by Sayyids and religious fanatics."[2] Their virtues and the vices in their character vary from valley to valley. "In the upper countries, the Yusofzyes are remarkably sober and free from vices; the inhabitants of the lower parts are notorious for the commission with the most unblushing effrontery, of every species of debauchery; they also game to excess and intoxicate themselves with drugs."[3] Elphinstone, however, thinks that "their independence and continual quarrels make them suspicious and irritable, render their manners repulsive and take away the openness and plainness which pleases so much in the other Afghans."[4]

They are indeed as rugged as their mountains and as turbulent as their rivers; a tough and formidable lot, "difficult to conquer and dangerous to keep,"[5] the most fanatical of people, overflowing with religious zeal and bigotry, They are "very strict in their national prejudices. An Usafzae will not marry his daughter to any one of a different tribe, or without receiving some dowry, with a person of his own tribe."[6] In matters religious the Yusafzais were controlled by the Mullas in the plains and the Sayyids in the hills. The Mullas were dreaded because of their numbers, unanimity and learning. "The Syeds are frequently treated as if they were only less than Gods, and the wealth with which piety has endowed them contributes not a little to the influence of this sacred character."[7]

Mutual jealousy and rivalry were rife among them and this made them a thoroughly disunited people. They joined in a common cause, but then they showed a lack of "cohesion and the military discipline" and displayed a strong spirit of individual independence. The "mutual jealousy prevents them from fortifying even (their villages) with walls."[8]

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1. Shahamat Ali, pp. 272-4.
2. Davies, *the North West Frontier*, p. 61.
3. N.A I., Foreign Miscallaneous Ms. No. 336, p 17.
4. *Kingdom of Caubul*, Vol. II, pp. 30-34.
5. "Troops alone can keep them within their limits or otherwise they would infest the roads night and day." (Shahamet Ali, pp. 161-2).
6. *Ibid*, 273.
7. N.A.I. Foreign Miscellaneous, Ms. No. 336.
8. *Ibid*.

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Military Strength

Owing to the unsettled conditions of the times,[1] the whole Yusafzai tribe was in arms. It was believed that in times of emergency they could gather "about one lakh of fighting men."[2] Their cavalry was insignificant. Their forte was infantry. They were armed with heavy matchlocks and long spears which they used with singular dexterity, both on horse and foot. A few wore chain armour and some had bows and arrows of a formidable size. They avoided close fighting as far as possible. If they were compelled to do so, they displayed excellent swordsmanship. They sometimes opposed cavalry charges forming themselves into close masses with their spears extended. Whenever the sound of a naqara (kettle drum) was heard at any hour of the day or night, every man able to bear arms rushed to the hujra, a public meeting room, of which there were from eight to twenty in every village. From these they proceeded in small batches under separate flags and Mullas to the scene of action. "A total want of discipline and order now distinguishes them. They have no head. Each party or Hoogre acts independently and even those under one flag will not always obey one leader." Their numbers, courage, alertness and skill in the use of weapons make them a formidable force to irregular troops ; but "a body of disciplined cavalry would, with the greatest facility, put to rout or cut up in detail a flock of men scattered here and there over a level plain, totally ignorant of tactics and without unanimity."[3]

They also lacked the able guidance of an all-controlling ruler and the singlemindedness of the Sikhs. But ferocious, fanatical and freedom-loving as they were, they never completely surrendered or compromised and in this they were greatly helped by the nature of their country. "Yusafzais are much more at home in the hills than in the plain country, and their national system of attack has been developed by the wild and mountainous nature of the country in which they fight."[4]

Hatred of the Yusafazais for the Sikhs

The hatred of the Yusafzais for the Sikhs was unbounded. "Words can not fully describe the hatred which the Eusoofzyes entertain towards the Sikhs. It is considered not only lawful but meritorious to plunder, to

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1. "Hardly a day passes, in which the nakara does not turn out the inhabitants of every village from the rivers to Punjtar" (N.A.I. Foreign Department, Secret Consultations, No. 200, 4 May, 1840).

2. *Ibid*, Foreign Miscellaneous, Ms. No. 336.

3. *Ibid*.

4. Griffin, Ranjit Singh, p. 207.

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torture, or to kill them. No oath made with a Sikh is respected, and a large number of men who are highly respected by their countrymen and who are remarkable for the strictness of their religious observances have no other means of subsistence but by chupaoing the Sikh territory and carrying off persons for ransom."[1] Revolts against the Sikhs occurred almost annually and the whole country remained "in a state of turmoil."[2]

Ranjit Singh's attempts at peaceful occupation

The Yusafzais came into contact with the Sikhs with Ranjit Singh's conquest of Attock[3] in 1813. First of all he declared his authority over the Khataks who occupied the left bank of the Kabul river from below Naushahra to Jahangira containing about twenty villages. Qazi Ghulam Muhammad, formerly an assistant of Jahandad Khan, the Afghan Governor of Attock, was appointed the Sikh agent with the Khataks, and was given a jagir in that territory. He held this post until his death in 1842. His eldest son, Fazal Ahmad, succeeded him in this position.[4]

Ranjit Singh, then, aimed at subjugating the Yusafzais, a part of whose territory was also situated to the east of the Indus. He tried to win over the chief Yusafzai leader, Fateh Khan, who generally lived at his headquarters at Panjtar.[5] He had about sixty paid followers, each of whom was given three rupees per mensem. He realized a tithe of the produce of land in the plains. His own possessions were trifling in extent, but he was looked up on as the head of the Yusafzais and served as a rallying

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1. N. A. I., Foreign Department, Secret Consultations, No. 196, 4 May, 1840.

2. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. V, pp. 361-2. "The Yusafzais," writes Douie, "have been bad neighbours. The origin of the trouble is of old standing, dating back to the welcome given by the tribesmen in 1824 to a band of Hindustani fanatics, whose leader was Saiyyid Ahmad Shah of Bareilly. Their headquarters, first at Sitana and afterwards at Malka, became Caves of Adullam for political refugees and escaped criminals, and their favourite pastime was the kidnapping of Hindu shopkeeps." (*The Panjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir*, p. 305).

3. The fort of Attock is situated half a mile below the confluence of the rivers Indus and Kabul. It was built by Akbar in 1581. The importance of Attock was due to its commanding position for checkmating a foreign incursion from the north-west. "The depth of the Indus here is 30 feet in the lowest state, and between sixty and seventy in the highest." "On the 10th of August, 1858, the river suddenly rose to 90 ft." (Murray's Handbook—*The Panjab*, p. 288). The velocity varies from 5 to 13 miles an hour. (*N.A.I. Foreign Miscellaneous*, Ms. No. 269, pp. 39-40; No. 336, pp. 11-13; Burnes, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 79-80. Hugel, pp. 215-7; *Imperial Gazetteer, Panjab*, Vol. I, p. 196; Vol. II, p. 183).

4. *Panjab Chiefs*, p. 569; *Rousa-i-Panjab*, p. 582.

5. Panjtar was a cluster of five small villages containining about 500 houses. It was not a fortified place and the road leading to it was level and fit for the use of guns.

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point. He had four guns fixed in the Shahdara Pass leading into the territory of Swat and Buner.[1]

Ranjit Singh "offered Fateh Khan a Jagir of three lakhs and the Khanship of all the Yusafzais if he would only nominally acknowledge himself his subject by sending in a hawk or two or a horse to the Khalsaji." But Fateh Khan would not listen and bend. His head was as high as his tone was challenging. "Horses and hawks," he wrote back, "are found with rich nobles at the courts of kings. I am a poor Zamindar having nothing of the kind, but I can send you a fat cow if you please." He took a vow to kill every Hindu and Sikh on whom he could lay his hands, and also to destroy their abodes and temples, and never yield until his death in 1840.[2]

Having failed to conciliate the most powerful Yusafzai chief, Ranjit Singh turned his attention towards the next important leader. This was Painda Khan of Darband,[3] a place situated on the eastern bank of the Indus. Fearing the Sikh aggression, he established himself at Amb[4] just opposite Darband on the western bank of the Indus, a small piece of land, a few hundered yards square, enclosed between the deep and rapid Indus and the rugged and lofty chain of hills overhanging the river. He maintained a body of 1,000 paid soldiers and 3 or 4 thousand men of his tribe followed him. He seized Hindus and Sikhs and extorted ransom, failing which he flung them into the river after tying stones round their necks. No oaths or ties bound him. He was as sly as the fox and now and then plundered the Sikhs and Hindus by crossing the Indus on inflated skins under the very eyes of the Sikh garrisons. His predatory excursions were confined to Pakhli,[5] Dhamtaur, Chach,[6] Hazara and

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1. N.A.I. Foreign Department, Political Consultations, 14 February, 1838; Secret Consultations, No. 196, 4 May, 1840.

2. N.A.I., Foreign, Misecellaneus, Ms. No. 352; Foreign Department, Secret Consultations, No. 196, 4 May, 1840.

3. Darband was an important village in Tanawal and was picturesquely situated. The valley where it stands becomes so narrow as to render passage difficult. Hence the name Darband which means the 'closed door' (Masson, Vol I, pp. 71-2; *Hazara Gazetteer*, p. 230; Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 410).

4. Amb was a small village situated on the western bank of the Indus and was so called from a solitary mango tree which was seen standing by Edward Conolly in February, 1840. (*Imperial Gazetteer, N.-W.F. Province*, p. 122; N.A.I. Foreign Department Secret Consultations, 4 May, 1840).

5. Pakhli now forms a part of Hazara district.

6. Chach is an extensive plain to the east of the Indus and contains the most fertile parts of Attock district. The tract was remarkable for its numerous breeds of goats.

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Naushahra.[1] He never submitted to the Sikhs until his death in September, 1844.[2]

Ranjit Singh was sure of one thing, namely that the Yusafzais were not a consolidated and united people. So he continued his exertions and eventually succeeded in winning the allegiance of Arsila Khan of Zaidah, who was principal among the minor chiefs. He was on bad terms with Fateh Khan of Panjtar and was "forced to save himself from ruin by seeking the protection of the Sikhs."[3] He kept more horses than any other chief of the plains. He collected revenue for the Sikhs and was "in turn helped in plundering his neighbours."[4] He was noted for good sense and liberality of character. He remained loyal to the Sikhs during the reigns of Ranjit Singh, Kharak Singh and Sher Singh, but revolted towards the close of 1843.

Ranjit Singh made political capital out of "the internecine strife which was disrupting the Afghan Empire" and tried to excite and accentuate jealousies and divisions among the petty tribes with the consequence that numerous small lordships were substituted in place of one common interest. The success of the Sikhs is no less to be attributed to their superior military organization, solidarity among their ranks, the erection by them of a number of forts at strategic points in the territory of the Yusafzais and "persistence of their great, able and astute Maharaja, slow and sure and irresistible as the rising tide."[5]

"From 1826, to 1846, the Sikh Government at Lahore excercised undoubted supremacy throughout Hazara and one by one the native chieftains lost even the small measures of independence which they had originally been suffered to retain."[6] According to the celebrated Sikh historian, Griffin, "the men of Islam were rolled in the dust by the triumphant followers of Govind Singh."[7]

The Sikh Forts

Ranjit Singh had to build a chain of forts and station strong garrisons

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1. Naushahra village is situated 19 miles from Attock and 26 miles from Peshawar on the right bank of the Kabul river. (Ross, *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh*, pp. 181-2.)
2. N.A.I. Foreign Department, Political Consultations, No. 27, 3 October, 1836; No. 69, 20 October, 1837; Nos. 40-53, 14 February, 1938; *Secret Consultations*, Nos. 196, 200, 4 May, 1840; Hugel, p. 197; *Hazara Gazetteer* (1907), pp. 189-91.
3. N.A.I. Foreign, Miscellaneous, Ms. No. 336.
4. *Ibid.*, *Secret Consultations*, No. 196, 4 May, 1840.
5. Griffin, p. 199.
6. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. V, pp. 361-2.
7. Ranjit Singh, p. 210.

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in them in order to maintain his authority and ensure peace in the Yusafzai country. Majority of these forts were mud-built. Harkishangarh was the principal Sikh fort in Hazara district. Darband had another fort which was occasionally used as a starting point for frontier expeditions. Haripur[1] served as the Sikh headquarters whenever the Yusafzais revolted. There was a strong Sikh fort at Jahangira,[2] the seat of Sikh administration for the Yusafzai country. Sikh forts were also built at Gandgarh standing among the hills running south of Torbela[3] parallel to the Indus, at Narrai and Kron in the Sutti tract, at Nara, Satana,[4] Maru, Dursna, Akora,[5] Bara,[6] Khairabad,[7] Naushahra,[8] Shabqadar,[9] on the site of Bala Hissar at Peshawar, Burj-e-Hari Singh[10] and Fatehgarh[11] near Jamrud.[12]

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1. Haripur is situated 20 miles distant from Hasan Abdal on the road to Abbottabad (Murray, p. 275).

2. Jahangira village is situated on the left bank of the Kabul river, "3 miles from Akora, where there is a ferry on the main road to the Yusafzai country and where are the ruins of an old Sikh fort, the residence of the old Sikh rulers of the Yusafzai country, up to the time of the British annexation" (*Ibid* p. 276 ; Ross, p. 181).

3. Torbela stands on the Darband-Haripur road 20 miles distant from the former and 22 miles from the latter (De Bourbel, p. 147).

4. Satana is situated in Mahaban hills (*Hayat-i-Afghani*, p 87).

5 The Akora fort was built by Lahna Singh Sandhanwalia. Akora is the chief village of the northern Khataks and is situated 11 miles from Attock, half a mile distant from the right bank of the Kabul river (*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I, p. 147).

6. The Bara fort built by Mangal Singh Ramgarhia stands close to the pass where there is plenty of delicious water. "The water of the Bara was considered by the Sikhs so excellent that it was brought daily to Peshawar in sealed vessels. Rice grows on its banks was also highly valued, and the whole crop was brought to Peshawar, where the be t was reserved for seed, the next best was sent to Ranjit, and the rest was given to the Zamindars." (Murray, pp. 278, 280 ; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, p. 105).

7. The Khairabad fort situated on the right bank of the Indus opposite Attock was founded by Prince Kharak Singh.

8. The Sikh fort at Naushahra was situated in Naushahra Khurd on the Grand Trunk Road about two miles towards Peshawar (Ross, p. 182 ; Murray, p 276).

9. The Shabqadar fort was located in Charsadda sub-division, 17 miles north-west of Peshawar, and was erected by Lahna Singh Sandhanwalia under the supervision of Tota Ram. It was called Shankargarh after the name of the latter's son, Shankar, born while construction was in progress.

10. Burj-i-Hari Singh was a small mud fort 4 miles distant from Peshawar on the left of the road. "Near Hari Singh's Burj are the remains of 3 Buddhist buildings, huge, unsightly piles." (Murray, pp. 277-8).

11. Fatehgarh is situated 10 miles west of Peshawar near the entrance of the Khyber Pass close to Jamrud. The fort was built by Hari Singh Nalwa. It stands on ground about 100 feet high. Hari Singh's tomb also lies in this fort (Murray, pp. 276-8).

12. N. A. I., Foreign Miscellaneous, Ms. No. 351. pp. 58-9 ; Ms. No. 336 ; *Hazara Gazetteer*, (1907), pp. 131, 230 ; Jaffar, *Peshawar*, pp. 122-3.

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The garrisons in the forts were there to serve in an emergency. The real power was exercised by the civil officers Ranjit Singh chose for this turbulent region some of his best soldier-administrators, many of whom laid down their lives while performing their duty.

THE SIKH GOVERNORS

1. Hukma Singh Chimni, 1814-1819.

Hukma Singh Chimni was the first Sikh governor of the Yusafzai country. He held this post from 1814 to 1819, when he was recalled owing to his ruthless administration.[1]

2. Diwan Ram Dyal, 1819-1820.

Diwan Ram Dyal, one of the best generals of Ranjit Singh and grandson of the celebrated Diwan Mohkam Chand, succeeded him. In 1820 he led an attack on Yusafzai hordes many times the number under him at Gandgarh. "The fight was kept up the whole day till sunset, when the Sikhs, tired out, returned to their entrenchments. Diwan Ram Dyal, with a small personal escort, was among the last to leave the field, and the enemy, seeing him separated from the main body, attacked him with impetuosity, and after an obstinate resistance killed him and all his followers."[2]

3. Amar Singh Majithia, 1820-1822.

Amar Singh Majithia was the next governor. One day "after a sharp engagement" with the Yusafzais, Amar Singh, with a small escort, went to bathe in a water channel. The Yusafzais finding him inadequately protected, attacked and killed him and his escort. Amar Singh's dead body was recovered after a month. The Yusafzais looked upon him with awe and remembered his bravery for a long time afterwards. They also preserved a tree through whose trunk a hole made by Amar Singh's arrow could be seen.[3]

4. Hari Singh Nalwa, 1822-1837.

The boldest and most intrepid of Ranjit Singh's governors of the frontier province was Hari Singh Nalwa. He was terror incarnate.[4] "Hari Singh was a leader of infinite dash and gallantry and was adored by the army; ever ready to fight and win, without counting the odds against

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1. Griffin, p. 207.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 207-8.
3. Panjab Chiefs, p. 93 ; Griffin, p. 208 ; Rousa.i-Panjab, p. 94.
4. Till recently the Afghan mothers used to frighten their little children with his name, saying "Harya Raghle da".

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him"[1] The Nalwa was never a popular governor, and the whole country groaned under his iron heel.

In February, 1823, the Yusafzais declared a holy war against the Sikhs and an army of 20,000 strong got ready to fight them. Ranjit Singh had already lost two of his bravest governors. He was not prepared to run the risk of losing the third. He at once rushed from Lahore, crossed the Indus with heavy guns on 13 March, 1823, and advanced to Naushahra.

The Yusafzais took up their position on the heights of Naushahra at Theri on the left bank of the Kabul river. They were supported by the Barakzais of Kabul, and their chief, Azim Khan, at the head of a strong force, encamped on the right bank of the Kabul river just opposite Theri. Ranjit Singh divided his army, much smaller in number, into two parts. One division fought under him at Theri against the Yusafzais. The other half under Hari Singh Nalwa, Jamadar Khushhal Singh and Budh Singh fell upon Azim Khan. In a fierce engagement that took place on 14 March, the Yusafzais were completely routed, but the famous Akali leader, Phula Singh, was killed in the action. A severe defeat was inflicted upon Azim Khan, who fled away to Kabul and died of the shock the same year. About 10,000 Pathans were killed in this battle. "Though stimulated to the utmost by religious enthusiasm, they were defeated by less than a third of their numbers."[2]

The Yusafzais again rose against the Sikhs in 1824 at Darband. Hari Singh was so hard pressed that he could hold his ground with the utmost difficulty until the arrival of the Maharaja in that quarter eased the situation. In 1825, a force of the Yusafzais, five times as numerous, attacked him; but Hari Singh displayed exemplary valour and dispersed it.[3]

Two years later the religious fanaticism of the Yusafzais was fanned into flame by Sayyid Ahmad Shah of Nasirabad in U.P. He was a follower of the notorious Pindari chief, Amir Khan. After the fall of this leader he visited Mecca and returned to Delhi in 1826. He preached a holy war against the Sikhs and wanted to seize the Panjab for himself. He gathered together 500 of his fanatical followers in Delhi and then, passing through Tonk, Khairpur, Kandhar and Kabul, reached the Yusafzai country in 1827. He was warmly received by Fateh Khan of Panjtar. The Sayyid

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1. Griffin, p. 140.

2. N. A. I., Foreign, Miscellaneous, Ms. No. 336; Ross, p. 139; Cunningham (1897), pp. 168, 170, 171-2; Panjab Chiefs, pp. 16, 438; Griffin pp. 208-9; Rousa-i-Panjab, pp. 15, 447. ("The mound on the Mardan Road was the scene of this celebrated battle".—Ross, p. 182).

3. Cunningham p. 193; Panjab Chiefs, p. 185; Griffin pp. 210-11; Rousa-i-Panjab, p. 161.

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and his followers were hailed as deliverers, and the Yusafzais, under the guidance of the Sayyid, gathered in large numbers for a religious war against the Sikhs.

Ranjit Singh instructed Hari Singh to wait till reinforcements reached him from Lahore. But Hari Singh was rather rash. He ordered Budh Singh to cross the Indus and engage the Yusafzais. Budh Singh, at the head of a small force, took up his position at Akora, where Ahmad Shah attacked him in the night. Budh Singh repulsed the attack, but 500 of his men were killed and wounded. The following day Budh Singh advanced by 9 miles and encamped at Jahangira. He was joined by Atar Singh Sandhanwalia and the Dogra and Atari chiefs. The total strength of the Sikhs was 10,000 with 12 guns. The Sayyid, with a huge army, besieged them. When the garrison ran short of provisions, Budh Singh sallied out of the fort and hard fighting took place. The Yusafzais' "fierce enthusiams," says Griffin, "burned out as quickly as straw.....The victory rested, as it was bound to rest, with the slow-witted, strong and stubborn Sikhs." The Sayyid and his Yusafzais fled to the Swat mountains and for the next two years they gave no trouble to the Sikhs.[1]

In 1829 Ahmad Shah tried to seize Peshawar. He attacked Yar Muhammad Khan, the Sikh nominee, who received a mortal wound in the action. Peshawar was, however, saved as it was immediately occupied by Yar Muhammad's brother, Sultan Muhammad Khan, who was shortly afterwards reinforced by a Sikh force under the command of Prince Sher Singh and General Ventura.[2]

In June, 1830, the Sayyid attacked Attock, but was repulsed by Hari Singh Nalwa and General Allard.[3] A few months later he suddenly fell upon Sultan Muhammed Khan of Peshawar and occupied the town. In November, 1830, he reinstated Sultan Muhammad in the governorship of Peshawar on his own behalf. He then crossed the Indus to seize Attock, but was driven away into the mountains. "Yet Ahmed continued active, and in a desultory warfare amid rugged mountains, success for a time attended him."[4]

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1. Cunningham, pp. 198-200; Griffin, pp. 199, 211-2; Panjab Chiefs, pp. 16, 186; Rousa-i-Panjab, pp. 15, 192; Hayat-i-Afghani, p. 185.

2. Cunningham, pp. 200-1. General Ventura was an Italian and had served under Napoleon. Having lived in Egypt and Iran for a time, he took up service with Ranjit Singh in 1822 on a monthly salary of Rs. 2500. He organised the Sikh infantry.

3. *Ibid*, p. 201. The author of the Hayat-i-Afghani, p. 185, says that the Sayyid's secret plans of attacking Attock were divulged to the Sikhs by Khavi Khan, who was afterwards beheaded by Ahmad Shah.

4. *Ibid*. 202.

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Ahmad Shah then prepared himself for a full-scale fight with the Sikhs. He declared that "he had a divine commission to take possession of the Panjab" and that "he would compel Ranjit Singh to turn Mussalman, or cut off his head." In addition to the Yusafzai hordes, the Kakkas and Bambas of Muzaffarabad district and "adventurers and crusaders from all parts of Afghanistan, and even from India" all numbering "above one hundred thousand men" gathered under his banners. Prince Sher Singh and General Ventura surprised this horde at a place called Balakot in May, 1831, inflicted a crushing defeat upon it and slew Sayyid Ahmad Shah.[1]

The death of Sayyid Ahmad Shah had a quietening effect on the Yusafzais and for five years they did not create any serious trouble for the Sikhs. In 1836 Fateh Khan again started fomenting disturbances. Hari Singh dashed into the heart of his territory and encamped at the mouth of the Jahangira defile leading to Panjtar. Next morning Hari Singh attacked Panjtar and defeated Fateh Khan. The Sikhs destroyed the chief's village and "obliged him to sign an agreement for tribute."[2]

Fateh Khan seems to have repented his act of submission and towards the close of 1836 again raised the standard of revolt. He made a number of incursions into Chach and burnt down a couple of hamlets east of the Indus. The Maharaja despatched Raja Gulab Singh with a force consisting of three battalions of infantry, a thousand horse and twelve pieces of artillery. On the approach of the Sikhs the Yusafzais fled into the mountains. Raja Gulab Singh continued his operations leisurely. Hunger soon forced the Yusafzais to return to the plains to find their hearths and homes reduced to ashes. "Hundreds pressed by hunger sought the camp of the Sikhs and putting a piece of straw in their mouths as is their custom fell at the feet of the passive Hindu crying, 'we are your cows'." They were blown off from the guns a dozen at a time.

After having collected from the Yusafzais about Rs. 25,000 and "a few horses" as tribute, Gulab Singh retired and left a garrison of about 300 men at Jahangira.[3]

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1. Masson, Vol. I, p. 132; Lawrence, Travels of an Officer, p. 259; Adventurer in the Panjab p. 128; Cunningham, p. 202.

2. N.A.I. Foreign Department, Political Consultations, No. 69, 20 October, 1837; Secret Consultations, No. 81, dated 14 September, 1840; No. 54, dated 9 November, 1840.

3. N.A.I. Foreign Department, Political Consultations, No. 69, 20 October, 1837; 14 February, 1838; F. Mackeson to C. M. Wade dated at Peshawar, 24 October, 1837.

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5. Maha Singh, 1837.

Hari Singh Nalwa was killed on 30 April, 1837, in the battle of Jamrud while fighting against the Afghan ruler, Amir Dost Muhammad Khan. Maha Singh succeeded him in the governorship of Hazara district and General Avitabile[1] in that of Peshawar. Maha Singh was recalled early in 1838. During his governorship Fateh Khan of Panjtar created many disturbances.

A news item of 13 May, 1837, stated "Fateh Khan the chief of Panjtar is reported to have recovered the possession of his territory and the Yusafzai tribes to have thrown off their semblance of allegiance to His Highness' Government."[2] The Maharaja immediately took proper steps to check the disturbances. On 31 May, 1837, a "shooka was addressed to Raja Gulab Singh directing him to proceed to Akora and to inflict a suitable chastisement on Paindah Khan of Derband and Fateh Khan of Panjtar."[3] On 18 June, 1837, "a letter was addressed to Fateh Khan of Panjtar desiring him to attend with full confidence on Raja Gulab Singh, in which case he would be treated with every attention; otherwise he would meet with exemplary punishment."[4]

Obviously this did not produce any effect on Fateh Khan and he continued his activities unabated. The Maharaja, then, instructed General Avitabile to join Raja Gulab Singh. The General with Raja Gulab Singh advanced into the Yusafzai country in the latter half of July.[5]

A Sikh force 15,000 strong with guns ascended, under cover of darkness, the top of a hill in the neighbourhood of Panjtar, the capital of Fateh Khan. Bombardment of the little villages below was commenced. Most of the people with their families fled to safe places. About 300 men, unencumbered with women and children, under the leadership of Fateh Khan and with the Mullas at their head stood up to resist and "maintained an unequal fight for many hours. Fateh Khan himself swore not to retreat, and was at last carried off the field by force in the arms of his soldiers."

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1. General Avitabile was an Italian, born at Naples in 1791 In 1807-9 he served in Neapolitan forces and also in Joseph Bonaparte's artillery. He worked in Iran from 1820 to 1826. He came to the Panjab in 1827 and took service under Ranjit Singh. He became governor of Peshawar in 1837 after the death of Hari Singh.

2. N A I. Foreign Department, Secret Consultations, 14 September, 1840, No. 81.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

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The Sikhs destroyed some villages and retreated the next day.[1] In October, 1837, Kesari Singh[2] was ordered to canton in their territory with 2,000 horses and a battalion of infantry.

Fateh Khan remained adamant and inflexible till his death in the beginning of 1840. The influence of his eldest son, Muqarrib Khan, extended over a great part of the plain, but his actual authority was limited to about 70 villages. He imposed a tithe on every village, the jaziya on the Hindus, a tax on faqirs and occasionally obtained plunder from the Sikhs. With all this he could maintain a force of nearly 2,000 footmen, while about 5,000 men of his own tribe were ready to join him in emergency.[3]

6. General Tej Singh, 1838-1844.

On the recall of Maha Singh, General Tej Singh[4] was given charge of Hazara and next year he succeeded General Avitabile as governor of Peshawar. Ranjit Singh died in June 1839 and the first Afghan War was then in progress.

Since the British Government had taken up the cause of Shah Shuja, a number of Englishmen were steadily exerting their influence on the Yusafzais in order to persuade them to become the loyal subjects of the ex-Amir of Afghanistan. This was a clear interference with the Sikh affairs and undermined the Sikh authority in these wild regions. F. Mackeson was appointed British Agent at Peshawar in 1837.[5] Edward

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1. *Ibid*, Foreign, Miscellaneous Ms. No. 336, Political Consultations, No. 69, 20 October, 1837.

2. Kesari Singh was a notable Rajput of Jammu. He was the principal adviser of Raja Suchet Singh and was counted among the best soldiers in the Panjab.

3. Alam Khan, the second son of Fateh Khan, was at this time a 20-years-old youth, good-looking, well disposed and intelligent and was the favourite of his father. Fateh Khan's third son was Madad Khan. He was obstinate and rash by nature. At the age of ten he drew his sword upon his tutor, who had struck him, and immediately ran away from his father's house, to which he never returned. He collected a band of daring lads of his own age and commenced a war against his father by plundering his sugar-cane fields. He took refuge with Muqarrib Khan, who lived independently of his father in a fort about 8 miles north of Panjtar. Fateh Khan would never utter his name. On his death bed, when he was distributing his property among his sons, somebody mentioned Madad Khan's name. At this he grew furious and said, "Do not speak of that infidel; he is no child of mine." (N.A.I., Foreign Department, Secret Consultations, No 196, 4 May. 1840; No. 66, 17 January, 1842.)

4. Tej Singh's original name was Tejram. He was a Brahmin from Meerut district. He took service at the court of Lahore in 1811 at the age of 12. He embraced Sikhism in 1816 and became Tej Singh.

5. N.A.I., Foreign Department, Political Consultations, 14 February, 1838, Nos. 40-53.

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Conolly undertook a long tour in these parts during the first quarter of 1840[1]. Another Englishman, who travelled widely in this country, gives a few hints regarding British policy. "The main principle to guide and conduct should be that every thing (in appearance at least) remain on the same footing as in the days of Ahmad Shah and no innovations should be attempted, but with great caution and gradually. Above all the interference of Europeans should be studiously veiled. The policy, so often successful elsewhere, of organising a body of troops after our fashion and of placing them under an European officer, and thus raising a party amongst the people themselves in our favour, would here, I suspect, prove a sad failure and would excite suspicions of our designs which might lead to the total subversion of the kings' (Shah Shuja's) authority even when it might have been thought most firmly established. These people cannot be trifled with."

"As respects the chiefs, it should be our policy to increase their power and to support their authority. In the sum (plains) the restoration of Mokurrub Khan to his hereditary right as Lord of the Munders (the main Yusafzai clan) would ensure the steady obedience of his tribe. Of the Khans of the Kohistan it would be premature at present to say more than.....The Syeds should, I think, be bribed, the Moollahs kept under."[2]

7. Arbel Singh, 1841-3.

Under these circumstances Tej Singh felt the necessity of having a deputy to take exclusive charge of the Yusafzai affairs. The Lahore Darbar, accordingly, early in 1841 appointed Arbel Singh deputy governor of Hazara district.

Fateh Khan's leadership had passed on to Painda Khan of Amb, whose predatory excursions spread a panic in the country. Arbel Singh led an expedition against him and encamped at Kharkot near the bank of the Indus to its east and fighting began in the hills. Just at this time there occurred a natural calamity of great magnitude and this severely affected both the parties. Earlier a heavy landslide had caused the formation of a dam across the bed of the river Indus in the upper regions. On 2 June, 1841, this dam burst and made the collected waters to rush down with a frightful roar. The waters swept away numerous villages on both sides of the river for a distance of 3 or 4 miles, including the Sikh

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1. *Ibid*, Secret Consultations, 4 May, 1840, No. 200.

2. N.A.I. Foreign, Miscellaneous, Ms. No. 336. The Yusafzais "are more favourable to the English than the Sikhs. Several letters have been received from them, offering their services in the ensuing campaign, but they being nominally subject to the Sikhs, their offers have been rejected" (Shahamet Ali, p. 62).

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forts situated at Dardand and Torbela and Painda Khan's capital, Amb. The entire Sikh encampment with its guns, magazine and baggage was carried away. The fighting going on between the opposing parties on the hills above the river was brought to a standstill. Painda Khan sent a word to the Sikh leader that "God had judged them and made the one as helpless as the other" and suggested dispersal. Thereupon the Sikhs and Painda Khan retired to Haripur and Tanawal, respectively.[1]

8. Diwan Mulraj, 1843-6

In September, 1843, Diwan Mulraj Dilwalwala succeeded Arbel Singh and he was assisted by General Dhaunkal Singh. At this time Painda Khan had become quite active and was assisted by the Sayyids of Kaghan, Sher Muhammad Khan of Gandgarh, Arsila Khan of Zaidah, Sultan Najaf Khan of Khatur, Ali Gauhar of Khanpur, Habibullah Khan of Pakhli and the Chhibali tribes.

Diwan Mulraj and General Dhaunkal Singh were clever men and succeeded in establishing the Sikh power in this turbulent region. In 1844 Painda Khan was brought to action and defeated, and a number of forts were recovered from him. The authority of the Sikh governors was, however, negatived by Raja Gulab Singh, who was at variance with the Lahore Darbar. In September, 1844, Painda Khan fell ill. Dhaunkal Singh bribed the physician, who was treating Painda Khan, and the latter was poisoned to death. After this the son of Painda Khan submitted and asked for a jagir. The tract, however, remained in a disturbed state owing to the intrigues of Raja Gulab Singh.[2]

In the beginning of 1845 Sher Singh, son of Chatar Singh, was appointed governor of Peshawar in place of Tej Singh, who was recalled to Lahore. The Yusafzais revolted against him, but their rising was quickly suppressed.[3] During the first Sikh War, the disorganisation of

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1. Gazetteer of Hazara District (1907), p. 131; N.A I., Foreign, Misc. Ms. No. 352, p. 87. Nearly 6,000 lives were lost in this flood. "This inundation was attended by two remarkable phenomena. So great a fall took place in the river the previous spring that goats walked across, where it had been unfordable for elephants and so great was the quantity of gold brought down in the sand with which the inundation strewed the country to a considerable distance from the banks of the river that the tax on gold washers of 1 Rupee per trough per annum, which had never previously produced more than 5 or 600 rupees, gave for two or three years afterwards from 5 to 6 000, gold washers from the country as far south as Kalabagh coming up to share in the profits." (N.A.I., Foreign Misc. Ms. No. 352, pp. 91-2).

2. Panjab on the Eve of First Sikh War, pp. 77, 85, 91, 103, 119, 184, 195, 242, 277, 287, 288, 290, 294, 301, 307, 309, 310, 313, 343, 347.

3. Rousa-i-Panjab, p. 72; Panjab Chiefs, p. 69.

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the Sikh government at Lahore tempted the Yusafzais to rise once more. They stormed the Sikh forts and besieged Haripur, the headquarters of the administration. "A Hindustani fanatic Sayyid Akbar of Sitana was elected their leader by the assembled chieftains."[1] So successful were they in their revolt that Diwan Mulraj, the Deputy Governor of Hazara, had to retire to Hassan Abdal[2] in 1846.[3]

The territory is taken possession of by the English, 1846.

At the end of the First Sikh War in 1846, the district of Hazara, the homeland of the Yusafzais, was taken away from the Lahore Darbar by the English and made over to Raja Gulab Singh as a part of Kashmir. The Raja, however, was not willing to hold this turbulent territory and in exchange for some lands near Jammu he returned this district to the British Government.[4]

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1. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. V, pp. 361-2.

2. Hasan Abdal is situated 11 miles to the north-west of Taxila in a delightful valley watered by numerous springs, which gush from among the rocks. The Sikhs call it Panja Sahib. "Here are the ruins of a pleasure ground and small palace tastefully formed by the Mughal Emperor, Akbar, and though much decayed, displaying yet an exquisite combination of elegance and refined luxury." They are situated at a distance of 1½ miles from the town, and the place is called Wah, the Indian exclamation of wonder and astonishment.

(Elphinstone, Caubul, p. 73; Moorcroft, Vol. II, p. 317; Burnes, Vol. I, p. 73; Thornton, Vol. II, p. 480; Shahmet Ali, p. 153; Hughel, pp. 209-10, 224; Rawalpindi Gazetteer (1883-4), p. 22.

3. N.W.F P. Gazetteer, p. 127.

4. Douie, p. 299; Hayat-i-Afghani, p. 7.

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A Study of the Mint-towns of Akbar

By

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(Numismatist, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay)

[The author gives a detailed account of the towns, which minted coins during the reign of Akbar. He classifies them according to the nature and type of coins issued and also discusses the terminology employed for designating the various issues. *Ed.*]

Much interest has been taken in the study of Mughal coins and a vast literature has been published about them. But all that has been done so far is confined to bringing to light the names of the places from which the coins were issued, the compiling of the lists of these places and sometimes the identification of the places. While such works have aroused the interest of the coin-collectors and have helped them a great deal in identifying the place names on the coins, they have failed to attract the historians as sources of information for the political and economic history of the period, as did the studies in the ancient Indian coinage. So I feel it would be worth the occassion to present a historical study of the mint-towns of Akbar as my homage to the veteran scholar of Mughal history, Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

We know that the following towns issued Akbar's coins in gold, silver and copper[1] :

Gold. Agra, Ahmadabad, Akbarnagar, Asir, Burhanpur, Delhi, Fatehpur, Hajipur, Jaunpur, Katak, Banaras, Lahore, Malpur, Patna, Pattan, Sarhind, Sitpur, Srinagar, Udaipur, Ujjain, Urdu and Urdu-zafar-qarin.

Silver. Agra, Ahmadabad, Ahmadnagar, Akbarnagar, Akbarpur, Tanda, Allahabad, Alwar, Anhilwarapattan, Anwala, Balapur, Bandhu, Bangala, Barar, Bhakkar, Burhanpur, Delhi, Dewal Bandar, Elichpur, Fatehpur, Gadraula, Gwaliar, Hissar (called also Hisar Firoza), Jaunpur, Katak Banaras 'or Katak), Kabul, Kalpi, Lahore, Lahri Bandar, Lakhnau,

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1. Singhal, *Mint-towns of the Mughal Emperors of India*, p. 33-34.

*This study is based on the coins published in the Catalogues of the British, Punjab, Lucknow and Indian Museums and the *Numismatic Supplements*. The preparation of an absolutely complete list of all the coins of Akbar, who issued money so profusely for nearly half a century, would be an almost impossible achievement. It would be, therefore, presumptuous to think that no errors or omission with be detected in chronological data contained in this paper. I can only hope that it will not be found very inaccurate or incomplete in the present state of our knowledge.

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Malpur, Multan, Narnol, Patna, Pattan, Saimur, Shergarh, Sitpur, Srinagar, Surat, Tatta, Ujjain, Urdu and Urdu-zafar-qarin.[1]

Copper. Agra, Ahmadabad, Akbarnagar, Ajmer (called also Salimabad or Salimabad Ajmer), Akbarpur, Akbarpur Tanda, Allahabad, Alwar, Anhilwarapattan, Atak Banaras (Attak), Awadh, Bahraich, Bairat, Bhakkar, Badaon, Burhanpur, Chittor (?), Delhi, Deogir, Dogam, Fatehpur, Govindpur, Gorakhpur, Gwaliar, Hisar (Hisar Firoza), Jalalnagar, Jalalpur, Jalandhar, Jaunpur, Kabul, Kalpi, Kalanur, Khairabad, Kiratpur, Kora, Lahore, Lakhnau, Madankot, Malpur, Multan, Manghar, Manikpur, Mertha, Narnol, Patna, Pattan, Qanauj, Qandhar, Saharanpur, Sarhind, Sambhal, Sherpur, Sherkot, Sironj, Srinagar, Ujjain (or Ujjainpur) and Urdu-zafar-qarin.[2]

Besides these, we have an inventory of the mint-towns in Abul Fazl's *Āin-i-Akbarī*, which were operating when the book was under compilation.[3] This includes some names which are quite absent from the above list. They will be referred to in due course. But one of them arrests our attention for the reason that it is not a name of any particular place. It is called *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl*. It needs an elucidation, before we proceed discussing the places mentioned above. This word *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl* had been rendered into English by the early writers as 'the seat of the government' and had been understood by them to denote either Agra or Fatehpur.[4] But it has always been missed by them that Agra itself is mentioned in the inventory of Abul Fazl among the places manufacturing silver coins. It cannot be *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl* as the latter is said to have

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1. Here Chunar of Singhal's list is excluded. The coin attributed to this mint by Whitehead in his *The Mint-Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India* (p. 474) was said to be in Lucknow museum. The catalogue of the said museum, which was published long after this list, does not mention any coin of this mint. Most likely it was the misreading for Hisar, as has been pointed out by Hodivala, in the case of copper coins (*NS*, XXXIV, 220-222).

2. This list does not include the names Amirkot, Bandar Shahi, Chunar, Gohad, Khairpur and Mirpur or Mainpur given by Singhal. Amirkot is really Sherkot (*NS*, XXXIV, pp. 197-199), Bandar Shahi was a wrong reading for Srinagar as pointed out by Whitehead (*PMC* XCVI, p. 95; *NS*, XXV, p. 233). Chunar is Hisar (*NS*, XXXIV, pp. 220-222). Gohad was a clerical error in Whitehead's list, from which Singhal has prepared his list. This was pointed out by Whitehead himself (*NS*, XXV, p. 232). Khairpur is really Ujjain or Ujjainpur (*NS*, XXXIV, p. 222-223). Singhal has himself pointed out that what is read as Mirpur or Mainpur is Ujjainpur (*Mint-Towns*, p. 4). On the other hand the present list includes Jalandhar, which is known from a coin in Whitehead's collection (*NS*, XXXIV, p. 185, fn. 1). Kiratpur coin existed in Whiteking's collection and Whitehead has included this mint in his *Mint-Towns*, p. 505. Sherkot is emendation for Amirkot (*NS*, XXXIV, pp. 197-199).

3. Text (*Bibl. Ind.*), I, p. 27, 1, 9 ff.

4. Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 427 ; Lanepoole, *BMC*, intro, liii ; Oliver, *JASB*, 1886, p. 4).

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been issuing coins in all the three metals. The glory of Fatehpur had departed long before this inventory was compiled. Akbar had quitted it finally in the thirteenth year of his reign (993 A. H., 1585 A.D.) and returued to Agra in 1599 A.D. and never lived at Fatehpur except for a few days in May, 1601 A.D.[1] W. Finch describes it in 1610 A.D. as "all ruinate, lying like a waste desert, and very dangerous to pass through in the night, the buildings lying waste without inhabitents."[2] So even Fatehpur could never have been meant by this term *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl.*

Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl literally means 'camping ground of good fortune.' Prof. Hodivala, quoting various literary sources, has rightly shown in one of his learned papers that it always meant 'the emperor's camp.'[3] And here it shows that the emperor's camp had a mobile mint of its own, which issued coins. But at the same time he was of the opinion that this term was absolutely synonymous with the term *Urdū-zafar-qarīn* and here in this inventory it meant the same.[4] While it is true that *Urdū-zafar-qarīn* comes under '*Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl,* it was never exclusive of the mint of the emperor's camp, for the obvious reason that we do not get any gold and silver coins of the period of the *Āin* issued in the name of *Urdū-zafar-qarīn.* Gold and silver coins of this mint had ceased to be issued after *Alif i.e.* 1000 A.H. and the name continued only on copper coins in later days. The *Āin* was compiled long after the date *Alif* and it explicitly mentions *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl* as the primary mint of gold, which also issued silver and copper.

The word *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl,* in the inventory, rather shows that coins continued to be issued in gold and silver from the emperor's camp even after the discontinuance of the anonymous name, *Urdū-zafar-qarīn.* And in all probablity henceforward the coins were issued in the name of the place where the emperor was encamped for the time being. This gains strength from the fact that we have a few gold coins of Lahore dated in the 40th Ilāhī year, when Akbar was there, whereas the name of Lahore is missing from the inventory of Abul Fazl as a mint for gold coins. Had it not been *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl* issue, we should have its name in this inventory as the compilation of the *Āin* began in that year, and it cannot be said that Abul Fazl was not in the know of it.

The same practice of issuing coins in the name of the encamping place was observed before the anonymous name *Urdū-zafar-qarīn* was innovated

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1. Vincent Smith, *Akbar,* pp. 106-7, 231.
2. Purchas, *His Pilgrimes,* Mac Lohose's reprint (1905), Vol. IV, p. 42.
3. *N. S.* XXXIV, pp. 167-170.
4. *Ibid,* pp. 170-171.

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from *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl* mints. This is known from the coins, which bear the honorific *Dārul-khilāfat* for the places of their origin. *Dārul-khilāfat* is a term, which was generally used by the Muslim rulers for their seat or the capital of their state. We know Agra was the imperial seat of Akbar from the very beginning, and we find that it was exalted with the title of *Dārul-khilāfat* on the coins as early as 966 A. H. (1558 and 59 A D.) and it is found on all the coins of gold, silver and copper that were issued from this place till 989 A. H. (1581 and 1582 A. D.), when use of any honorific name for the towns on the coins was abolished once for all.

But the title *Dārul-khilafat* is not exclusive for Agra. It is found also on the coins issued from no less than 13 other places. They are Ahmadabad, Akbarpur, Tanda, Awadh Khitta, Bahraich, Deogir, Dogam, Gorakhpur, Jaunpur, Lakhnau, Lahore, Malpur and Qanauj *alias* Shahgarh. Most of the places listed here are very insignificant and are situated not at a very long distance from each other. For instance Akbarpur Tanda is only a few miles off Awadh, Dogam is a little north of Bahraich in the same district and the *khittā* of Awadh is adjecent to Bahraich. The dates on the coins issued from these places are confined to a very short period and do not overlap one another. This clearly suggests that the atelier that was issuing coins from these places was not stationary. It was mobile and its movements were rapid. That these coins were not issued from any one particular place is also clear from the epithet *khittā* (area or territory) used for Awadh. No mint other than the mobile *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl* can be suggested for these towns, as the coins bear the title which is meant for the capital. Thus it is clear that the seat of the empire for the time being was at the place where the emperor was encamped.

This is further elucidated from the fact that Ahmadabad was annexed to the Mughal empire in 980 A. H. and the coins issued in the beginning from that place are distinctly of three types : (*i*) gold, silver and copper issues for the years 980 and 981 A. H. (1572 to 1574 A. D.) bearing no epithet ; (*ii*) a few gold coins, only of the year 980 A. H. (1572 and 1573 A. D.), with the epithet *Dārul-khilāfat* ; and (*iii*) gold, silver and copper coins for the years 981 A. H. (1573 and 1574 A. D.) *et seq.*, with the exclusive epithet *Dārul-saltanat*. This shows that the gold coins with the epithet *Darul-khilāfat* were the earliest chronologically. They were issued for a short period in the beginning in 980 A H. (1572 and 1573 A.D.); then coins in all the three metals were issued in the same year without any epithet, which continued next year *i.e.* 981 A. H (1573 and 1574 A. D.) and then coins with the epithet *Dārul-saltanat* were issued in that year, which continued for a long time. It is well known that Akbar was

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present at Ahmadabad in 980 A. H. (1572 and 1573 A. D.) and we can well assume that the coins that were issued during his stay over there had the title *Dārul Khilāfat*. As soon as he moved onward the epithet was withdrawn and coins were issued without any epithet. Then the epithet of *Dārul-saltanat* was given to it, being the provincial capital of Gujarat.

All these make it clear that *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl* was not exclusively *Urdu-zafar-qarīn*, as has been considered so far. It was a mobile mint of the imperial camp, which was working from the beginning of Akbar's reign. In the beginning the coins from this mint had the name of the encamping place. Then they were distinguished by the epithet *Dārul-khilāfat* ; then anonymous *Urdu-zafar-qarīn* was innovated. But after some time it was discarded for gold and silver coins and the name of the camping place was used again. Thus, many of the places given in the above list of the mints should be identified as the *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl* mint.

Then, it is a matter of common knowledge that the Muslim conquerors used to recite *Khutbā* and strike coins on the eve of their conquest or acquisition of a town, province or a country. These were regarded as manifestoes of the unchallenged supremacy or incontrovertible proof of the occupation of the land. That Akbar and his successors used these prerogatives, is well known. We have definite mention of the recitation of *Khutbā* and the striking of coins at Nagarkot,[1] Jalesar,[2] Qandhar[3] and Badakhshan after their respective occupation by the Mughal army. Though the coins of these places are yet unknown, yet there may be some commemorative coins issued by the armies from their camps from other places as their token of victory and some of the places given in the above list may be the army camps and their issues, army issues.

Thus the study of the mint-towns of Akbar means the distinguishing of at least three kinds of mints *i e.* (*i*) regular mints, (*ii*) *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl* mints and (*iii*) *Urdu* or army's camp mint. These three kinds of mints, no doubt, are known to the scholars, but they have never been properly recognised.

Now, a careful scrutiny of the gold coins issued from the places listed above shows that none of them was issued before 971 A H. (1563 and 1564 A.D.) In other words no gold coins were issued by Akbar till 971

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1. *Tabaqāt Akbarī*, Eiliot and Dowson, Vol. V, p. 359. ; *Muntakhabu-t-twārīkh*, Trans. G. S. Ranking, Vol. II, p. 166.

2. *Akbarnāmā*, (Bibl. Ind.), Vol. III, p. 615.

3. *Ibid*, p. 668.

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A.H., though he had come to throne as early as 963 A.H. (1555 and 1556 A.D.) and had immediately issued silver coins. Even from 971 A.H. we get gold coins only of Agra, Lahore and Jaunpur and from 972 A.H. (1564 and 1565 A.D.) of Delhi. At the same time we notice that Lahore discontinued issuing gold in 977 A.H. (1569 and 1570 A.D.), Delhi in 979 A.H. (1571 and 1572 A.D.) and Jaunpur and Agra in 984 A.H. (1576 and 1577 A.D.) Then we find again the gold coins of Lahore from 983 A.H. till 988 A.H. (1580 and 1581 A.D.) and also the coins of a new mint, Patna, from 983 (1575 and 1576 A.D.) to 987, of Fatehpur from 986 to 988 A.H. and of Ahmadabad from 980 to 988 A.H. This suggests that Jaunpur was replaced with a new mint at Patna, with the expansion of the empire in the east and a new mint was opened at Ahmadabad with the expansion in the west. Agra was replaced with Fatehpur, when the latter was made capital of the empire. Delhi altogether ceased to mint gold coins; only Lahore continued to work with a temporary suspension between 977 and 982 A.H. This shows that Akbar had only four regular mints at a time for gold coins at the capital places at the four corners of the empire.

But in 987 or 988 A.H. all these mints were suspended and the minting of the gold coins was exclusively entrusted to an entirely new mint, which we know as *Urdū-zafar-qarīn*, and is believed to be emperor's own camp mint. With the exception of a single coin dated 984 A.H. (1576 and 1577 A.D.), all the gold coins bearing this name are known of a single date *Alif i.e.* 1000 A.H. (1591 and 1592 A.D.) But all its coins were not exclusively issued in this year. We are told by Badaoni that by 986 A.H. the ideas of Akbar towards the renunciation of Islam had crystallised as the result of the weekly discussions at the *Ibādatkhānā*, that in 987 A. H. he publicly assumed the spiritual leadership and that by 990 A. H. (1582 A.D.) he was convinced that the millenium of the Islamitic dispensation was drawing near and so he promugalated the designs, which he had planned in secret. And the first order, which was passed, was that the coinage should show the millenium *i.e. Alif*.[1] This explains well the total absence of the dates after 987 or 988 A.H. How long the gold coins dated *Alif* from the mint *Urdū-zafar-qarīn* were issued we do not know; but we possess copper coins of this mint which bear 35th Ilāhī year *et seq.* In their light, it may be presumed that these coins ceased in or about that year, though we have yet to find out the gold coins of these later dates. During this period, why the coins were confined to such a single mint which was not the permanent mint at the capital, but was simply a

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1. *Ibid.* p. 972.
2. *Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh* (Bibl. Ind.), Vol. II, p. 301.

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mobile atelier of the emperor's camp, is yet to be explained by the scholars.

Then it appears from Abul Fazl's *Āin-i-Akbarī* that some time during its compilation or a little earlier, the issue of the gold coins from more than one mint was resumed. He has mentioned four places as *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl*—Ahmadabad, Kabul and Bangala as working in gold coins, when he compiled his book.[1] But curiously enough, inspite of this statement of Abul Fazl, whose authenticity we have no reason to challenge, we have at the moment not a single coin of Ahmadabad, Kabul and Bangala[2] for this period and only of Lahore of the 40th Ilahi year, which may be called the issue of *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl* mint.

Of the post-*Āin-i-Akbarī* period, the gold coins are extremely rare. We find only Agra as issuing (rather reissuing after a long interval) gold coins from the 42nd Ilahi year till the end of the reign. Burhanpur and Lahore are two other mints, which issued gold coins during this period, but only for a few years towards the end. The coins of the former are known for 48 and 49 and of the latter for the years 48 and 50 Ilahi years. The only other mint of this period may be Akbarnagar, whose coins are dateless; most likely they belonged to the last few years.

The silver coins were issued from Agra, Hisar and Lahore in the very year Akbar came to throne *i.e.* 963 A. H. (1555 and 1556 A. D.) The next year in 964 A. H. mints at Delhi and Kalpi were opened. We know Jaunpur issuing in 966 A. H. Akbarpur Tanda is known in 970 A. H. (1562 and 1563 A. D.) Of these Hisar, Kalpi and Akbarpur Tanda were short-lived; they were closed in 967, 969 and 974 A. H. respectively. Coins of Jaunpur after 972 A. H. are known, but they bear the title *Darul-khilāfat* and in all probability are the issues of *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl*. Then silver mints were opened at Anhilwarapattan in 979 A. H. and at Ahmadabad in 980 and at Patna in 983. Agra was replaced with Fatehpur in 985 A. H. Since 886 A. H. (1578 and 1579 A. D.) Jaunpur is known again

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1. Text (Bibl. Ind.), p. 27.

2. Prof. Hodivala had suggested that Bangala of this list actually meant Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), which was founded in the 39th Ilahi year by Mansingh as the capital of Bangala province. He refers to the only known two gold coins of Ilahi type of Akbarnagar, which are peculiar in exhibiting no date beyond the Persian month. He suggests that these might have been issued during this period. (*N.S.* XXXIV, p.). But it may be pointed out that we know the silver coins with the name Bangala for the 39th Ilahi year and 1006 and 1011 A.H. This clearly shows that if any gold coin would have been issued, it would bear this name and not Akbarnagar, as we know no instance where coins in two different metals were issued from the same mint under different names. Akbarnagar gold coins may be much later as its silver coins are not known earlier than 50th Ilahi year.

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issuing silver coins without any epithet. As such there were seven mints *viz* Agra-cum Fatehpur, Anhilwarapattan, Delhi, Jaunpur, Lahore, Ahmadabad and Patna which issued coins till 986 A. H.

The *Akbarnāmā* informs us that on 2nd Azar, 22nd Ilāhi year, in a meeting of the ministers, the management of the imperial mints was reorganised and new directors were appointed for them. Only six mints are named there *viz.*, Fatehpur, Lahore, Bangala, Jaunpur, Gujarat and Patna.[1] Though there is no explicit mention of the metal, in which these mints were working ; but most likely they were mints of silver primarily and to some extent of gold also. Here we do not find mention of Anhilwarapattan and Delhi, of which coins are known for the period ; instead Bangala is added, the coins of which coins are not known.

It seems that Anhilwarapattan was not a recognised imperial mint. We do not find it mentioned even in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, though it issued coins all through the reign of Akbar and even after him. The purely local nature of its coins[2] possibly explains the reason of its ommision from the official lists. For Delhi it appears that its suspension was decided in the meeting of the ministers, accordingly it was suspended a little later in 986 A.H. (1578 and 1579 A. D.), but the opening of the new mint at Bangala, decided in the meeting did not come into effect for long time to come, as is evidenced by the conspicuous absence of its coins.

Besides Delhi, Patna ceased its activities in silver in 988 A. H. and Fatehpur, Jaunpur and Lahore did the same in 989 A. H. Only Ahmadabad continued to issue silver coins without any intruptions till the end of the reign. In the period of *Alif* (988-1000 A. H.), all the out-going mints were replaced by an anonymous mint *Urdu-zafar-qarīn* in 988 A. H. and a little earlier a new mint at Ujjain was opened. Ahmadabad and Ujjain continued their activities, but *Urdu-zafar-qarīn* was suspended in or about 1000 A. H. (1591 and 1592 A. D.) A little before this Delhi and Lahore resumed the coining of silver in the 35th (998 A. H.) and 36th Ilāhi years (999 A. H.) respectively. Thus the number of the mints was increased to four. In the post-*Alif* period (37-40th Ilāhi years) we have two other mints at Multan and Tatta, which were also opened in the 37th and 38th Ilāhi years respectively. And all these mints continued to work inthe subsequent periods.

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1. *Akbarnāmā* (Bibl. Ind. Text), Vol. III, p. 227, Trans. p. 321.

2. The coins of this mint are of the pattern of the coins of the Sultans of Gujarat and are recognised as the coins of Gujarat Fabric. The mint name on these coins have recently been read as *Sahr Nahr* (*wālā pattan*) (*N.N.S.I.*, XII, p. 57-63).

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In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, we have besides these six[1] and the *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl*, the names of other seven places *viz.*, Agra, Allahabad, Bangala, Kabul, Kashmir, Patna and Surat, where silver coins were minted when the book was under compilation, *i.e.*, between 40 and 42 Ilāhī years. We have the coins of Surat and Bangala for the Ilāhī years 38 and 39 respectively, but no coins of the subsequent years are known. Of Bangala, too, we know the later coins of 1006 (1597 and 1598 A. D.) and 1011 A. H. (1602 and 1603 A. D.) only. Thus the evidence of the coins at the moment is not enough to call these mints as regular. But without minimising the value of Abul Fazl's words, it may be presumed that these mints were sanctioned much earlier and that they issued a few coins but were soon suspended; but they were still on the list of the mint-towns approved for issuing silver coins, when the work was under compilation. Patna is the only mint of this list, which is known to have reissued silver coins during this period. We do not have the coins of Agra, Allahabad and Kabul earlier than Ilāhī year 44. This suggests that either the earlier coins have not come to our notice or these places were on the approved list when the book was compiled and they assumed working much later. We have no coins of Kashmir; instead we have the coins of Śrinagar for the Ilāhī year 45 *et seq.* Some earlier coins of Akbar were issued in the beginning with the name Kashmir and so it is quite possible that in the later period, too, it might have been decided to issue coins in that name. But when the actual coins were issued, the name of the place where the coins were actually minted was given.

Thus we may explain the long list of Abul Fazl; but in the post-*Ain* period we find only ten places, named in the *Ain's* list as working. They were Agra, Ahmadabad, Allahabad, Delhi, Kabul, Lahore, Patna, Śrinagar, Tatta and Ujjain. They continued till the end of the reign. Of the other three, as has been told above, we have no coins of Surat after 38 Ilāhī year Multan ceased to work after 42 Ilāhī year and Bangala issued a few coins

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1. The list of *Ain-i-Akbarī* does not include Tatta; instead it has Tāndah. I think this is misreading or miswriting of Tatta, a confusion between the two in Persian writing is quite possible. Prof. Hodivala had suggested that Patna in the list might be confusion for Tatta, as this confusion was too common in Persian writing. (*N.S.* XXXIV. p.). But silver coins of Patna for the years 43 *et seq.* are well known and an earlier coin of the year 42 of the month of Sahrivar is also known in the British Museum, which clearly bears the name Patna, though written a little differently. This shows that Patna mint had begun reissuing silver coins when the book was under compilation. It would be wrong to exclude it on mere assumption of the possibility of confusion in writing. Tāndah was no doubt an important town of Bangala in pre-Mughal period; but it had lost its glory in the period of which we are speaking. Moreover no coin of this place is ever known.

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in 1006 (43 Ilāhī) and 1011 (48 Ilāhī) A. H. If it was working regularly, we do not know. During this period two new silver mints were opened at Barar[1] and Burhanpur in the Ilāhī years 42 and 46 respectively, with the southward expansion of the empire.

The history of the copper-mints, too, is not very different from that of silver and gold. Inspite of the long list of the names of the places known issuing copper coins, there were not many regular mints working at a time. In the beginning, it appears Akbar used those mints from which the Suris had been issuing their copper coins. We find the copper coins of Akbar of Delhi, Hisar Firoza, Kalpi, Lakhnau, and Narnol from the beginning of the reign *i.e.* 963 A.H. Agra and Alwar issues are known from 965 A. H. ; but it is not unlikely that they too might have issued their coins from 963 A. H. (1555 and 1556 A. D.) But out of these Hisar Firoza and Lakhnau were closed in 967 A. H. (1559 and 1560 A. D.), Alwar in 972 A. H. (1564 and 1565 A. D.) and Kalpi in 973 A. H. (1565 and 1566 A. D.) A few years later some other new mints were opened—Bairat and Lahore in 976, Ajmer and Fatehpur in 979 and Ahmadabad in 980 A. H. Of these Bairat was short-lived. It was closed in 982 A. H. Dogam, which was issuing sporadically copper coins since 969 A. H. under the title of *Darul-Khilāfat*, seems to have become a regular mint in 986 A. H. In the same year another mint at Ujjain was started for copper.

With the advent of the *Alif* or *Urdu-zafar-qarīn* period, Delhi and Agra were closed in 988 A. H. and Fatehpur in 989 A. H. And the *Urdu-zafar-qarīn* mint began issuing copper coins like gold and silver with the date *Alif* till the Ilāhī year 35 and then afterwards with the Ilāhī dates. The other mints that worked during this period were Ahmadabad, Ajmer, Dogam, Lahore, Narnol and Ujjain. Ahmadabad, temporarily suspended copper coins in 995 A. H. (1586 and 1587 A. D.). Narnol and Ujjain were closed in 996 (1587 and 1588 A.D.) and 1000 A. H. respectively. Instead

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1. This name can be accepted only with reservation. The coins having this name have been alternatively read as Bairat. The Numismatic Society of India in 1913, by a resolution preferred Barār (*Proc. N. S I.* 1913, p.3). But Brown has pointed out that some coins that had come to his notice suggest the reading Bairat as correct (*LMC*, p. 29, fn. 2). Above that, Barār is believed synonymous with Elichpur, the capital of the province of Barār. We have the coins of this mint from the Ilāhī years 42 to 50 and that of Elichpur of the Ilāhī year 4x. Coins from the same mint and during the same period could not have been issued under two different names. In the absence of the unit figure on the Elichpur coin, it may be suggested that this coin might belong to the early period of the Ilāhī year 40 or 41. In Ilāhī year 42 the mint might have changed the name to Barār. But then we should have this new name in the subsequent period; but there we have the name Elichpur. So, in all probability, this is Bairat and not Barār.

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Kabul was opened in the Ilāhī year 32 (995 A. H.), which worked for a year or two.

Thus till the 37th Ilāhī year (1000 A.H.) not more than six or seven mints were working in copper. In that year it seems some sort of re-organisation of the copper-mints took place. While Ahmadabad resumed issuing copper coins, a number of new mints were opened. They were Atak Banaras, Delhi, Hisar, Kalanur, Kora, Multan, Patna, Qanauj (so far read as Chitor on coins[1]), Saharanpur, Sarhind and Srinagar. In the Ilāhī year 38 a few others—Badaon, Gwaliar, Narnol and Sironj were added to them.

Then according to the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, in its period *i.e.* between 40 and 42 Ilāhī years, besides *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl* forty-one places were issuing copper coins. Of them, we know only Ahmadabad, Ajmer, Atak, Banaras, Badaon, Delhi, Gwaliar, Kalanur, Lahore, Multan, Patna, Qanauj, Saharanpur, Sarhind, Sironj and Srinagar as working from earlier period, mostly from the Ilāhī year 37 or 38. The others were most probably sanctioned only during this period ; but the coins of only a few of them are available today. In this period Agra resumed coining copper in Ilāhī year 40. Kabul and Allahabad came into existence in the Ilāhī years 40 and 41 respectively. Bairat (miswritten or misread in the text as *Bairah*) reappeared in Ilahi year 42. Sambhal and Jalundher may also be assumed to have existed in this period as the coins of the former for the Ilāhī year 44 and of the latter for the Ilāhī year 4x are known, although I have every doubt of their being regular mints. Among the other names in the *Āin's* list, copper coins of Alwar, Bhakkar, Gorakhpur, Hisar Firoza, Jaunpur, Kalpi, Lakhnau, Pattan, and Ujjain are known ; but they all belong to the earlier period. They had suspended issuing these coins mostly in or about 987 A.H. About Bangala, Banaras, Hardwar, Mandu, Nagor, Ranthambhor, Sarangpur, Sialkot, Surat and Tatta, we do not know anything whatsoever.

Thus there is a glaring discrepancy between the list of Abul Fazl and the numismatic material available today. About half the places named in the *Āin* are unrepresented. It may be that we have attained but indifferent success in unearthing the copper coins of Akbar issued from these places. But what would one say about the conspicuous absence of Dogam from Abul Fazl's list ? It was an old mint and Abul Fazl was well aware of its

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1. *N.S.*, XXXIV, p. 184.

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existence[1]; still he has omitted it. This omission cannot be explained unless we presume that it was suspended for a while in the 40th Ilāhī year (coins of 1003 A.H.—1594 and 1595 A.D.—are known) and it resumed issuing coins in the 42nd Ilāhī year (coins of 1002 A.H.—1596 and 1597 A D.—are also known). But it would be a queer coincidence that when the writing of the book began, the mint was suspended and when the book was finished, it resumed its working.

However, even most of those places, of which we have the coins for this short period, do not seem to survive later. The coins of Gwaliar, Hisar, Kalanur, Patna and Sironj of the *Ain* period are not known. Their existence is assumed from our having coins of a little earlier period. They are unknown in the later times. Then Saharanpur seems to have closed in 40 Ilāhī year; Kabul, Multan, and Sarhind in 41 Ilāhī year; Allahabad and Badaon in 42 Ilāhī year ; Atak, Banaras and Srinagar in 43 Ilāhī year and Sambhal in 44 Ilāhī year. This shows that most of the mints were closed even before the compilation of the book was finished.

We have, thus, only Agra, Ahmadabad, Bairat, Delhi, Lahore and Urdu-zafar-qarin, which continued to work in the post-*Āin* period and worked till the end of Akbar's reign. If the hypothesis assumed above, be believed, it may be said that Dogam resumed its issue in 42 Ilahi year and continued till the end, though its coinage is not known to be regular. Towards the end of the reign, we find the coins of Govindpur for the Ilāhī year 44-48, of Ujjain for 45, of Burhanpur for 47 (might have begun earlier in 45), of Kabul for 47 and 50 and of Narnol for 49 and 50. It is not possible to suggest if all of these mints were regular mints of this later period in the present state of our knowlede.

However, it is quite apparent from the above analysis that in no period either before or after the period of compilation of the *Āin*, there were more than a dozen mints working in copper coins. It is only during the short period of about two or three years that we are made to believe that more than three times that number were working, as if they were opened just to be closed, a thing, which can hardly be imagined.

Thus after sifting out the regular mints in gold, silver and copper, there is left a long list of places, which have issued coins, mostly bearing a single date. Issues of these places may well be suggested to be the issues of the mints either of the army's camp, which issued coins on the occasion of its victories or the capture of a town or province or a territory, or of *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl*.

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1. The *Ain-i-Akbarī*, (Bibl, Ind. Text), 1, 433.

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As the issues from the camp of the victorious armies of Akbar, at least two gold coins are well recognised. One was issued from Udaipur and bears the date 984 A.H., the year in which it was conquered. It has the inscription *Zarb Muhammadabad urf Udaipur maftūhah* meaning 'the coin was struck at Muhammadabad *alias* Udaipur, the conquered.' This easily explains the nature of the coin. The other one is the coin of Asir dated in the Ilāhi year 45, corresponding to the date of the reduction of that strong fort of Khandesh. It has a curious device of a falcon, probably to denote the superiority of the might of Akbar's army. Then we have a few silver coins with a couplet, issued from Bāndhu, the well known fort in Bundelkhand; but it does not bear any date. Quite possibly, it was issued on the occasion of its siege in the 42nd Ilāhī year. There may be coins of some other places of a commemorative nature, which may not have any peculiarity other than the date. One such issue may be the earliest coins of Ujjain, which bear the date 968 A. H. They might have been issued on the eve of the conquest of Malwa.

The list of the places, which I think were not regular mints and may be identified as the army camps or *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl* can conveniently be split up into two groups according to the dates on their coins: (*i*) places which issued coins before the innovation of the anonymous mint, *Urdū-zafar-qarīn*; and (*ii*) places, which issued coins after this anonymous mint was suspended for gold and silver. I shall describe the latter list first.

Ilāhi year 40	Lahore (G)
42 Ardibihist, Khurdad Di	Dewal Bandar (S)
42 Aban, Azar, Di [1]	Lahri Bandar (S)
46 Mihr	Ahmadnagar (S)
47 Mihr	Saimur
47, 48, 49 Mihr	Sitpur (S)
48 Di	Balapur

It has been already said that Akbar was at Lahore in the 40th Ilāhī year. Ahmadnagar capitulated to Akbar in 1009 A. H. (46 Ilāhī year). Saimur is identified with the seaport of Chaul, in the Kolaba district and formed

1. Some of the coins of this mint of the month of Aban are said to be dated in the year 41. But on them the upper stroke is off the flan, and in the light of other coins, the date can only be 42.

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part of Ahmadnagar kingdom. The issue may well be of Akbar's own camp. Sitpur is the same as Sidhpur, situated near Ahmadabad. It is famous as 'the only place where *Śrāddha* can be performed for propitiation of the mane for the deceased mother. What Gaya is for the father, Sidhpur is for the mother.[1] It is well known that at the time of the death of his aged mother Hamida Banu, Akbar observed some Hindu ceremonies and even agreed to submit himself to the ceremonious *Bhadra* or tonsure of the head. The coins issued are all dated in the month of Mihr, which corresponds to the Hindu month Āśvina, when *śrāddha* for manes is performed. It is quite possible that he might have thought of Sidhpur, pronounced on the coins as Sitpur, and visited the place. Balapur is not yet identified; but it may possibly be on the way from Ahmadnagar to Agra, not very far from the latter, and the coin might have been issued during Akbar's return from Ahmadnagar.

Lahri Bandar and Dewal Bandar were the old ports in Sindh, not very far from Tatta. It appears that visit was first made to Dewal Bandar and then to Lahri Bandar and then again on the return a halt was made at the former.

We have some coins of the 50th Ilāhī year also, which deserve special mention. They are of Akbarnagar, Gorakhpur, Ahmadnagar, Qandhar and Sarhind issued in the months of Tir, Amardad, Sahrewar, Mihr and Aban respectively.[2] Earlier coins of these places are not known. They are also not known in the early years of Jahangir's reign. A sojourn within these four-five months is quite possible from Akbarnagar to Gorakhpur, then to Ahmadnagar and thence to Qandhar and on return to Sarhind. But we definitely know that Akbar died within four days of the beginning of the month of Aban and possibly for some months before his death he was not out of Agra. So, the issues from these places do not seem to be *Mu'askar-i- Iqbal* issues It is worth investigating for the historians if they were issued by some imperial commanders or princes, as their being regular issues is out of question.

The study of the mint-towns, which may be *Mu'askar-i-Iqbāl* or

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1. *Imp. Gazetteer*, XXII, p. 358.

2. On one of the copper coins of Gorakhpur (*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. V, p 163-64) and that of Qandhar (*Num. Chron.* Vol. XVII (5th Series), p. 297) the year has actually been read as 51. A gold coin of Agra, in British Museum, is also said to bear the year 51. But in view of the fact that Akbar died in the 8th month of the year 50, this date is an impossibility. Possibly this date is misreading for 50.

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army's camps during pre-*Urdū-zafar-qarīn* period, is a little complicated and needs a lengthy discussion, which at the moment is not possible. I have already taken double the space allotted to me. So I reserve it for a separate paper and content myself by giving the list of the places and dates, which might be useful to other friends in the field.

1.	Shergarh (S)	A H. 964,(1556 and 1557 A.D) 966 (1558 and 1559 A.D.)	
2.	Awadh (C)	966, 968-70 (1560 to 1563 A.D.)	
3.	Gadraula (S)	967 (1559 and 1560 A.D.)	
4.	Lakhnau (S)	968	
5.	Manghar (C)	968	
6.	Qanauj (C)	968-969	(*Dārul-Khilāfat*)
7.	Khairabad (C)	969	
8.	Jaunpur (C)	969	
9.	Akbarpur Tanda (C)	970 (1588 and 1589 A,D.)	(*Dārul-Khilāfat*)
10.	Narnol (S)	970	
11.	Bahraich (C)	967, 970, 971, 972, 975, 977.	(*Dārul-Khilāfat*)
12.	Jaunpur (S)	972-85	(*Dārul-Khilāfat*)
13.	Jalalpur (C)	974	
14.	Dogam (C)	974, 979, 980. 982-986.	(*Dārul-Khilāfat*)
15.	Lakhnau (C)	975, 977, 983-986, 988.	(*Dārul-Khilāfat*)
16.	Lahore (G)	976-977	(*Dārul-Khilāfat*)
17.	Sherkot (C)	979	
18.	Ahmadabad (G)	980	(*Dārul-Khilāfat*)
19	Akbarpur (C)	981-982	
20.	Anwala (S)	982	
21.	Sherpur (C)	983	
22.	Malpur (G.S.C.)	983-985	(*Dārul-Khilāfat*)
23.	Pattan (G.S.C.)	984-985	
24.	Bhakkar (S.C.)	984-986	
25.	Jalalnagar (C)	985	
26.	Madankot (C)	985	
27.	Deogir (C)	987	(*Dārul-Khilāfat*)
28.	Katak Banaras (G.S.)	987	
29.	Mertha (C)	987-988	
30.	Manikpur (C)	987	
31.	Patna (C)	987	
32.	Sarhind (C)	987	

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33.	Jaunpur (C)	987	(*Dārul-Khilāfat*)
34.	Urdu (G.S.)	987	
35.	Ujjain (G)	988	
36.	*Urdu-zafar-qarīn*	988-989	
37.	Sherkot (C)	989	

Hajipur, Kashmir and Kiratpur are the other places which may be added to this list, but their dates are not known.

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The Early Exploits of The English East India Company in Malaysia

By

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[Dr. S. N. Das Gupta has done intensive research in the history of the East Indian Archipelago. In this article he has sketched a fine picture of the early phases of the British dealings in Malaysia, so significant in the history of British empire.

The advent of the Modern Age saw the centre of gravity of the western culture shift from the Mediterranean to the open high seas and the contest for existence which ensued made it necessary for England to participate in that struggle. The resentment at the enhancement of the price of pepper by the Dutch brought into being the English East India Company as a rival of the Dutch in the Far East. In the early stages the Hollanders had the upper hand because their navy was far superior to that of the English, and their trading enterprize was the function of the state, not limited to any particular class, unlike the English one.

The first phase of this struggle virtually ended with the Amboyana massacre of 1623 and from 1635 to 1657 the English Company passed through the most critical time. But the triumphs of the Company in India reacted on its possessions in the further east; the successive Navigation Acts stimulated the English carrying trade and the three Dutch Wars that followed rendered Holland a second-rate power. All this enabled England to regain gradually her commerce and her colonies. The Dutch encroachment in the East Indies still continued and in 1682 the British lost Bantam—the centre of the whole system of English settlements and pepper trade. The author says that to the loss of Bantam may be traced the foundation of the British power in India which proved most useful in recouping the losses and furthering the trade in the Far East in future.—*Ed.*]

For over two decades since its inception, the English East India Company centred its efforts not on the mainland of India, but in the acquisition of a part of the spice trade of the islands of the eastern archipelago. India was considered as inferior in commercial importance to these islands and the trade with India proper was looked upon as quite a subordinate branch of the business. Only slowly did the Company realise the futility of obtaining secure foundations for its trade in the islands against "the excessive Dutch interferences." It also soon discovered that English commodities were "in small demand" in Malaysia, while the pepper and spices of the archipelago could be profitably exchanged for the Surat and Coromandel fabrics. It was then that the Company transferred its main activities to the development of trade with the mainland and the establishment of factories there.

Attempts to open up the eastern trade had preceded the formation

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of the English East India Company. The East was behind most men's ventures when the great movements, marking the end of the medieval synthesis and the transition to modern times, shifted the centre of gravity of western culture from the Mediterranean to the open high seas. In the struggle for existence among powers, England, a small island and a small state, could never have closed to her enterprise the resources which were being thrown open as a result of the geographical discoveries of the 15th and 16th centuries. Her participation was a necessary adjunct to her survival. The principal attraction, which the eastern commerce had for English minds, lay in the extremely valuable supply of pepper, cloves and nutmegs obtained from the distant eastern archipelago. Whether the impetus to find markets for English woollens was stronger than the impulse to collect spices from the East, is an intricate question to answer. In the East itself, spices and pepper were hardly considered as important products of commercial profit; but while they could be purchased for a few pence per pound in the countries of their origin, they could be sold for twice as many shillings per pound in the 16th and 17th century markets of Europe. The sale of a few cargoes of pepper and cloves covered easily the entire cost of a trading expedition and left a handsome profit into the bargain. It would, indeed, be an interesting study in human history to discuss the diet of southern and western Europe in the late middle ages and discover the reasons for the intense craving for spiced food and the eager and persistent demand for pepper. Evidently, spices were among the luxury articles for the exclusive use of the rich. Sir Richard Whittington, during his last year of mayoralty, invited King Henry V to a sumptuous entertainment at Guildhall. Among the novel features of the evening was "a marvellous fire of sweet smelling wood from the Indies which were sprinkled with cinnamon and other costly spices." Spices were also essential for the preservation of saltmeat which was the only winter food of those days. Ale and wine, too, were richly spiced, and pepper constituted a separate delicacy. The English East India Company was born in a spirit of resentment at the Dutch enhancement of the price of pepper in 1559 from three shillings to six and eight shillings per pound. The public demand had to be satisfied at a cheaper rate. The Levant Company dealt mainly in the products of Turkey, Syria and Egypt at a fairly high rate. The only alternative, therefore, was to send ships direct to the spice islands. The thoughts of the more sober section of the community were inclined to cast aside the heroic Drake methods, and were gradually shifting towards more orderly, systematic ventures for "the increase of our navigation and the advancement of lawful trafficke."

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Thus the Dutch supplied the impetus which saw the birth of the English East India Company. Moreover, English patriotic instincts disliked the Dutch habit of purchasing English ships in London for their eastern expeditions. A second springboard was the Levant Company with a desire to avoid the embarrassments of the Mediterranean trade, and expand its orbit from the narrow limits of the Near East.

The Tudors could never endure "to see trade sick" and, in sending the Cabots across the Atlantic to discover an open route to the Far East, they had advanced the principle of the freedom of the seas against the Hispano-Portuguese pretensions to monopoly of trade, navigation and conquest in the East. In 1527, Robert Thorne, a Bristol merchant, who had gained "a perfect knowledge" of the East India trade from his long residence in Seville, represented to Henry VIII the infinite advantages England might derive from this traffic and suggested that Cathay might be reached by sailing right over the North Pole. His "Declaration of the Indies," a treatise on the subject, was the first and unique of its kind, though his scheme was rejected as "too hazardous to be attempted." Since then, however, there are records of sporadic voyages for the discovery of the north-west and north-east passages to Asia. The path to empire is whitened by the bones of the intrepid adventurers. Though disappointing in their immediate results, the voyages laid the foundations of England's commercial greatness, were responsible for the ultimate English colonisation of North America, brought into existence the chartered companies, and forced the English into the East Indian trade by the only practicable route of the Cape of Good Hope.

Edward Fenton, representing a group of merchants, made the first direct attempt to break the Portuguese monopoly in his efforts to reach the East by way of the Cape of Good Hope in 1582. Though his expedition ended disastrously, it showed that the point of attack was shifting in the right direction. In the meantime, Francis Drake had opened friendly relations with the Sultan of Ternate in the spice-bearing Moluccas in 1579, and Thomas Cavendish had brought such intelligence of China "as hath not been heard in these parts." The fair treatment both received in the Moluccas deepened the conviction that "our countrymen may have trade as freely as Portugal if they will." The destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588 broke the Spanish monopoly of the high seas and quickened English activity in eastern waters. In 1591, three ships under Captains George Raymond and James Lancaster sailed into the Indies with design to cruize upon the Portuguese and open trade with the Malay islands. Of this small squadron, only James Lancaster reached the East Indies, touched

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at Sumatra, Junk Salang, Pulu Sembilan, and Penang. His return in 1594 brought to England the secret of the seaways to the East Indies and sounded the death-knell to the Portuguese monopoly of the eastern trade. The capture of the huge Portuguese carrack, the "Madre de Dioz," on her way home from Goa in 1592 with a rich cargo of 537 tons of spices, besides diamonds, pearls, umber, musk, silk, tapestries and satins together with the "Notable Register or Matricola of the whole Government and Trade of the Portuguese in the East Indies" furnished an object lesson in the riches of the East and disclosed the most carefully guarded secrets of Portugal. The memorial of the founders of the East India Company to Elizabeth was, in fact, mainly based on this "Notable Register."

For a long period, there was no clear conception of any general term for the islands comprising "Malaysia". The geographers of Europe were the first to discern the two large groups of the Sunda islands and the Philippines. Both cloves and nutmegs appeared in the trade lists of Alexandria in the age of Marcus Aurelius. Ptolemy had already inserted on his Map of the World "Malayu" and "Java." Malaysia is the general designation of the sprinkling festoon of islands, stretching out "in the form of extended limbs of Asia to the south-east, forming the stepping stone to the mainland of Australia on the one side, and to the Melanesian Archipelagoes and the island realm of Oceania on the other." It is variously known as the East Indies, Indonesia, and the Insulinde. The term denotes, in a wide sense, the entire region of the Malay Archipelago inhabited by the Malays, thus emphasising the purely ethnological viewpoint. Ethnologically, indeed, a study of the Malayo-Polynesian group should be most absorbing to the anthropologist. This archipelago is usually taken to include the Great Sunda islands *i.e.* Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Celebes, along with the islands adjacent to them or lying between them; the lesser Sunda islands "which form a chain between the south-western islands and Java, and include Timor, Flores, Sumba, Sumbawa, Lombok, and Bali, and islands between and adjacent to them;" the Moluccas, which in its wider sense includes all the islands between Celebes on the west, New Guinea on the east, and Timor on the south; the Philippine islands; and New Guinea and adjacent islands. All these islands, and island groups, enjoy an extraordinarily favourable situation for purposes of intercourse. They are half-way houses for communication between eastern Asia and the West. The two great civilised regions of the world, the Indo-European on the one side and the East Asiastic on the other, could come into close contact only by the route round the south-east extremity of Asia with Malacca as the crossing point.

The old records of the India House throw interesting light on the

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nature of the articles of trade and the early trade transactions of the Company. References to cambogium, ambergreece, assafoetida, aggats, and other products mostly brought from the islands of the archipelago, are common. The islands were clothed with a dense cover of luxuriant and evergreen vegetation, and were remarkable for the variety of timber, edible fruits, seeds and berries. In many parts of the archipelago, there are pearl fisheries and large number of edible birds' nests, which "are in such esteem in China, that an equal weight in silver is given for them." Palatable and highly seasoned soups are made of birds' nests and sharks' fins. Malacca, Sumatra, and Borneo are rich in minerals, and considerable quantities of gold dust are found in the rivers. Banka and Billiton are famous for their tin. The best diamonds in the world were brought from Sukadana, Japara, Grisse and Macassar. Immense quantities of pepper, nutmegs, cinnamon and cloves are produced in Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, and the Moluccas. Camphor and cubebs came from Sumatra, Java and Borneo, and musk from China. Thus the archipelago, offering as it did coveted treasures of immense economic value to the mercantile nations of the West, became the arena of contending powers for more than two centuries. The extent of the early exploring expeditions of the English Company was very sweeping, indeed, and exhibits a vigour and grit worthy of commendation, though its voyages were few in number, its fleet not so strong or well equipped, and its merchants in every sense adventurers, picking up a cargo and establishing a factory wherever opportunity offered. In the first twelve years, twelve separate voyages had been undertaken with twenty-six ships. The average size of the vessels then belonging to the Company, excluding their pinnaces, was 520 tons each. The *Trade's Increase*, the largest merchantship in the kingdom, with a tonnage of 1293, was, however, an exception. The second decade presents a record of the increase in the number and size of vessels bound for the East Indies. Ships of a size, hitherto unknown in England, were built to bring home the rich cargoes of the East. The magnificence of these vessels excited the admiration of foreign ambassadors in England.[1]

A place for a factory was usually selected on account of its easy access by sea, its secure position from hostile attack, the excellence of its markets, or the invitation of a local ruler to settle a factory in his domains, or a combination of as many of such considerations as the circumstances

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1. The accounts of the early voyages and proceedings of the Company are prolific. They are to be found recorded in *Purchase' Pilgrimes*, *Harris' Voyages*, the *Calendar of State Papers (East Indies)*, the *Court Records of the E. I. Company*, and in *Bruce's Annals*.

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of the situation allowed. The success of the Company's adventures, within the first fifteen years of its establishment, is visible in the series of factories founded in the East Indies. Captain Lancaster had established commercial relations with the King of Acheen in 1652, at Priamon in the island of Sumatra, with the Moluccas, and at Bantam, where he settled a factory. Sir Henry Middleton had extended the Company's trade to Banda and Amboyna. In Sumatra, the Company had trade with seven of the chief cities or ports though "all sorts of difficulties in keeping up trade with Acheen had to be surmounted." The selection of factors was not very happy. The Dutch reported that the English were "a rude and ungoverned nation, given to drunkenness and abusing of women, quarrelling, fighting and such like." The "proud and disdainful carriage" of the factors towards the king and nobility of Acheen caused them to be "thrust out of court." The factories in Sumatra were obtained for a limited period under restrictive conditions, and not without considerable difficulty, and were abandoned in a few years. In Petani, on the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula, the English were "honourably" received by the Queen and country people, but "with some disgust and distaste from the Dutch." Petani, it was remarked, "was not worth the keeping" except for "th. sale of cloth." In Malacca, the English do not appear to have settled any factory. Malacca was the stronghold of the Portuguese power till the year 1641, when it was captured by the Dutch, who established themselves firmly behind the fortifications of the city. For the remainder of the 17th and the greater part of the 18th century, the Dutch made Malacca "the headquarters of their enterprise in the Malay Peninsula." In Java, the English had factories at Bantam, Grisse, Jacatra, and Japara. The unhealthiness of Bantam was a source of frequent complaint. In Borneo, the English were carrying on trade "with more or less success," at Landak, Banjermassin, Sambas, and Sukadana, wherefrom, as reported in contemporary accounts, "great store of diamonds" was obtained. In Macassar, in the Celebes, a factory had been founded. In Pegu, Siam, Camboja and Bankok, the English were "well received."[1] With China, the Company carried on "a promiscuous trade," by means of "junks plying between the English factories in Macassar, Siam, and other places." Not till 1616 was any direct commercial intercourse between England and China established.[2]

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1. *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies* (1513-1616), pp. lvi-lviii.

2. *Court Minutes of the E. I. Coy.*, Book III, pp. 503-9. There is evidence of a considerable sale, by the Company in October, 1615, of china saucers, dishes, roots, rhubarb, silk etc.

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Silks and China-ware early appeared as articles which the traders wanted. To meet the growing demand at home for the export of English manufactures, more particularly woollens, and to avoid carrying out much silver, the Company hoped that China would afford a satisfactory market, hardly to be expected in the tropical regions of the archipelago. It was evident in the first two voyages of the Company that English manufactures could find no successful market in the Malay archipelago. The third voyage, under Hawkins, was undertaken with a definite resolve to open up trade at Aden and Surat. Commercial intercourse with Japan was opened mainly through the efforts of William Addammes and factories were left at Firando, Osaka and Nagasaki to serve as bases for later attempts at the China trade. The reports from the factors in Japan were not very encouraging, and in 1623 the trading stations had to be abandoned.[1]

The direct route into the archipelago from the west was then controlled by the Portuguese in Malacca, and the shipping of the rival power was forced to the west of Sumatra and enter the archipelago through the Sunda Strait. This made Bantam so important to the English, as also to the Dutch, and it was there that they made their headquarters. For the first half century, Bantam was the principal English station for eastern commerce, and to it were subordinated all the other factories founded during that period.

Inflated figures relating to the volume and importance of the eastern trade are often to be found recorded in the prolific contemporary documents and pamphlets. Still there is no reason to doubt that the Company in the first two decades of its existence was in a flourishing conditions and its trade expanded rapidly notwithstanding Dutch obstruction and heavy losses sustained by the sinking and capture of several of its vessels. And whatever may have been the strength of criticisms and the force of arguments against the monopoly rights of the Company, we have to acknowledge with Mun and his supporters that the country did benefit by securing the commodities of the East Indies and selling them in England at four or five times their prime cost in the Indies. A fairly large amount of the products of the East was disposed of in the markets of Europe. England was thus able to obtain the goods of the continent without the export of bullion. The result of twenty years of trade with the Indies was summed up by the Company in a Report presented to parliament in November, 1621, wherein

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1. *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies* (1513-16), *Hakluyt Series*, "*Memorials of the Empire of Japan*", pp. 40-45.

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it was stated that "they had laden away in all these years out of the realm.....but £ 613,681 or £ 29,225 per annum in the shape of foreign coin. They had also shipped out of the realm, in woollens, lead, iron, tin, and other English and foreign commodities to the value of £ 319,211 or £ 15,200 per annum." Thus the total value of exports in bullion and merchandise during the first twenty years was £ 932,892 or £ 44,425 per annum.

The return cargoes, which consisted of pepper, cloves, nutmegs, indigo, calicoes, drugs, China and Persian silk, were bought for £ 375,288 and were valued at no less a sum than £ 2,004,600 in England.[1] Mun's Report shows that during the first twenty years of its existence the exports of the Company, in silver bullion, had amounted to £ 540,093 and in merchandise, to £ 292,286, thus making a total of £ 832,376. The goods which had been purchased in India for £ 356,288 had fetched in England £ 1,914,600.[2]

The aforesaid extraordinary profits throw a flood of light on the state of the East India trade up to 1620. It was during this progressive period that the loss of the factories in the archipelago commenced. The Company, before long, encountered an unusual combination of adverse influences. The first of the forces that brought about a set-back was the steady opposition of the Dutch East India Company. By 1614, the conflict between the two had assumed considerable proportions, centering mainly on the question of sharing the trade of the spice islands, "the source of the cloves and nutmegs so much in demand in Europe." Be it remarked that as a result of the "notorious injuries" sustained at the hands of the Dutch, the English could never obtain a secure footing in the Moluccas, with the exception of a few settlements on the islands of Puloroon, Rosengyn and Lantore in the Banda group. Despite an abortive agreement in 1619 for sharing the profits and perils of Far Eastern commerce, a relentless, unofficial sort of open warfare was waged by the Dutch against English naval forces and factors in the archipelago, which disclosed the irreconcilable temper of the Hollanders and their obstinate desire to retain the exclusive commercial monopoly of the region, and resulted in the all but complete expulsion of the English traders. Nathaniel Courthope, agent to the Company's factory at Puloroon, was the solitary figure who, for a brief period, had made a heroic effort to withstand the Dutch attempts to exterminate English influence. His death in October, 1620, in an engagement with the Dutch at Lantore and the subsequent pusillanimous

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1. *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1622-24 ; Purchas, Vol. V, pp. 287-88 ; *Home Misc.*, Vol., XXXIX, pp. 55-56.

2. Grant, *History of the East India Company*, p. 20 ; O.C. p. 77, Vol. II, pp. 24, 25.

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surrender of Robert Hayes, his successor, shattered the final hopes of English resistance. Lantore and Puloroon were seized by the Dutch "with abominable wrongs to the English."[1] The famous Massacre of Amboina in February, 1623, virtually brought to an end the first phase of the English attempt to secure the trade of the Far-Eastern area of the archipelago. The Middle-Eastern sphere of influence, too, was gradually resigned to the Hollanders. The "Massacre" had one supreme effect, namely, the cause of the English East India Company, which had so far lacked royal support and encountered immense popular opposition on account of its monopoly, became for the first time identified with national sentiment and interest. The first two Stuarts "swallowed the outrage upon the nation without protest, and it was not until the days of Cromwell that reparation was obtained."

The greatest period of discouragement the Company ever witnessed was during the years 1635 to 1657. The affairs of the Company lay "a-bleeding." At times it appeared to be disintegrating, and at the outbreak of the Civil War it was "only not extinct." Evidences of this retrogression are to be found not only in the Court Records, but are also visible in the decreasing value of the Company's stocks and trade.[2] The confidence of the investors in "the golden nature of eastern trade" sustained a rude shock. Cromwell dissolved the Company during the interregnum, and for three years trade was left free.

The causes of depression continued to be the same. It was evident that so long as England was distracted by the excitements of the Civil Wars and depressed markets in consequence thereof, so long as the Company had to struggle against the duplicity of kings, the indifference or the open hostility of the public and the active competition of the interlopers,[3] little success was to be expected in the way of developing any trade capable of yielding the high profits required to balance the expenses and risks incurred.

Of the factories that were still retained several were rather a drain than otherwise. A further handicap was insufficient capital, necessitating extensive borrowings and corresponding heavy charge of interest.

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1. Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, Vol. V, p. 126.

2. *C.H.I.* Vol. V, p. 89. The capital raised for four successive stocks aggregated only about £600,000 during the twenty years following 1636, whereas in 1631 a single subscription had produced over £420,000.

3. The Company's own servants were always among the most dangerous interlopers. The question of interlopers was brought to a legal issue in Sandy's case in 1685, when the Court of King's Bench pronounced judgment in favour of the East India Company.

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Be it noted that the concept of a British colony in the East, by transplanting the surplus or the undesirable population of the mother country, never occurred in the early seventeenth century. Even if it had occurred, it must have met with immediate rejection. The factories, remained unfortified trading settlements pure and simple. Towards 1635, however, the colonising movement, stimulated by the success of the plantations on the American seaboard and in the West Indian islands, produced suggestions that something more was required than the leaving of a few factories here and there in the East Indies, and that English trade in those regions would never flourish until it was based upon actual settlements strong enough to resist external attacks. In 1649, Fairfax was instrumental in bringing forward a practical scheme for establishing colonies in the East, particularly on Assada, on Puloroon, and on some convenient part of the coast of India, all these being intended to serve as fortified centres of commerce on the model of Batavia and the Portuguese settlement of Goa. But nothing came out of it.

The stalwart champions of the East India trade not only demanded state protection, but a powerful and efficient navy, which had been so sadly neglected by the early Stuarts and allowed to decline and thus "beat the Dutch into better manners." To win mercantile pre-eminence England must meet and overthrow Holland's monopoly of the carrying trade. The statutory enforcement of the mercantile ideal in the successive Navigation Acts stimulated English shipping and enabled England to secure a steady hold over her commerce and her colonies by driving Dutch ships and goods out of the colonial market.[1] The three Dutch Wars that followed, hopelessly weakened the strength of Holland and reduced her to a second rate power. Even then the encroachment of the Dutch in the East Indies did not cease. The directors at Amsterdom might have desired a peaceful policy towards the English, but their instructions were ignored by the officials and agents in the East. Pinpricks and hostility continued. The climax came in 1682 when Bantam, "one of the earliest commercial establishments of any importance that had been erected by the English" was lost "mainly through Dutch intrigues." Bantam had superintended all the factories comprised in what may be called the "INSULINDE." The whole system of settlements, of which it had formed the centre, was, for the time, disorganised. It had also been the centre of the English pepper trade. The expulsion of the English from the factory at Bantam was,

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1. Andrews, *Colonial Period of American History*, p. 48. The commerce of the Dutch provinces had not been seriously injured by any of the Navigation Acts. In about 1675, the estimate given is that the Dutch had 900,000 tons of shipping to England's 500,000.

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indeed, a very heavy blow and touched the Company "in a very tender spot."[1] The vigourous protests of Charles II were met with "politic delays" on the part of the Dutch. The English Company was prepared, with the approval of Charles II, to launch an expedition against them, but the accession of James II forced the Company to alter its plans. The loss of Bantam, closed the second phase of contest between the rival companies in the East Indies. The mercantilist statesmen and writers of the day expressed their "fear of Dutch competition on into the eighteenth century." To the loss of Bantam, however, may be traced the foundation of British power in India. Driven from the Spice Islands and forced almost entirely to abandon the East Asiatic trade, the company found a field for its activity in India. The commerce of India grew steadily in importance as the merits of the Surat and Coromandel piecegoods, of Malabar pepper and of Bengal sugar and saltpetre "came to be recognised at home" and were found to be "in demand." It was during the period of the greatest depression that Fort St. George at Madras was erected and factories in Bengal were established. By 1675, the affairs of the Company were in "a progressive state," and between that date and 1757 the Company "passed from its mediaeval to its modern basis."

1. *O.C.*, p. 14, *Batavia* ; Grant, *History of the East India Company*, p. 93.

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The Tarikh-i-Muhammadi by Muhammad Bihamad Khani

By

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[The writer, after touching on the development of historiography in medieval India, discusses the value of the Tarikh-i-Muhammadi, a Persian manuscript, for reconstructing the history of India in the fourteenth century. As a general history of the progress of Islam within India, the Tarikh-i-Muhammadi fills an important gap between the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri of Minhaj-us-Siraj Juzjani (1259-60) and the Tabaqat-i-Mahmud Shahi by an unknown author (1499-1500). Besides being a chronicle of the doughty deeds of the Muslims, it gives us glimpses of the psychology of the educated Muslim society in India of the period.—*Ed.*]

All periods of history are obscure ; but some are more obscure than others. Among these some, the history of medieval Muslim India from the Ghorid conquest to the Mughal invasion should be numbered.

Despite the labours of Sir Henry Elliot and Professor John Dowson, of the editors of the *Bibliotheca Indica* series of texts and of those, who, like Professor Habib of Aligarh, are opening up the study of the material left by the medieval Muslim mystics, the study of the history of India from A.D. 1200 to 1500 is today where the study of early medieval English history was seventy or eighty years ago. That is, the major task still confronting historians is that of surveying the topography of the evidence or of sinking test holes into it in order to detect its various stratifications,

Until this work of exploration has gone much further, the urge to write general history is likely to result in the production of works more remarkable for the rashness and vehemence of their conclusions, or for the timidity and mildness of their avoidance of conclusions (the one from a very proper desire to show powers of historical thought, the other from an equally proper desire to show powers of scientific accuracy) than for their scholarly understanding of what, no more and no less, the evidence obliges them to believe as true of the period they cover. Neither, for example, Dr. A. L. Srivastava's recent *Sultanate of Delhi,*[1] whose conclusions soar too high above the evidence to rest securely upon that evidence, nor the *Cambridge History of India, Vol. III (Turks and Afghans),*

1. Agra, 1950.

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which leaves the general history of medieval India where it found it, buried under piles of undigested evidence, should encourage the historian of medieval India to assume that he already possesses all the material he needs and a completely satisfactory technique for interpreting that material. It is in the belief that future progress in the study of the history of medieval Muslim India from A.D. 1200 to 1500 depends upon the continued publication and analysis of historical meterial relating to that period and upon further discussion of methods of utilising that material that this paper is written.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, in a foreword to Dr. K. K. Basu's English translation of Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi's "*Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*,"[1] has himself emphasised the paucity of literary material from which to write the history of the so-called Saiyid period of the Delhi sultanate, after the sack of Delhi by Timur in A.D. 1398 until the accession of Bahlul Lodi in 1451. Indeed Sir Jadunath Sarkar quotes, in agreement, Professor Dowson's statement that Yahya's work "is the only source of all our knowledge of the Saiyyid period and that the later accounts written in Mughal times were mostly reproductions, sometimes verbatim, of the statements of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*." Since Sir Jadunath wrote, another Tarikh, contemporary with the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, completed in 842/1438, has been noticed by some recent historians, *e.g.* by Dr. R. P. Tripathi in his "Some Aspects of Muslim Administration"[2] and Dr. K S. Lal in his "History of the Khaljis."[3] This is the work catalogued as Or 137 in Rieu's Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum. This manuscript is the only copy (dating from the sixteenth century) of the work available in England, but Dr. Lal states that there is another manuscript version of the work, a copy of Or. 137, in the library of the University of Allahabad. Of the well-known Mughal historians, Bada'uni and Firishta do not, from the comparisons I have so far been able to make, appear to have utilised the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* (this is purely a provisional conclusion based on only a first investigation). Nizam-ud-din Ahmad does, however, mention a *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* among the works to which he referred in the writing of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and although the surface similarities between relevant passages of both are slight, there is one statement, to which I shall refer later, in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* which persuades me that the present *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* was in fact the work mentioned under that name.

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1. *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, No. LXIII, Baroda, 1932.
2. Allahabad, 1936.
3. Allahabad, 1950.

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The aim of this paper is to treat briefly the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* from two points of view. First, to analyse it as an example of Muslim historiography in medieval India, and second, and in the light of the earlier discussion, to suggest some of the uses to which it may be put in the study of the history of the times to which it relates. All references are to B. M. Or. 137.

The author, Muhammad Bihamad Khani, was, it is to be gathered from the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, a member of that Muslim military class which dominated the political life of north India from 1200 to 1500. His father, Malik-us-Sharq Bihamad Khan, was the '*muqti*' of the *iqta* of Irich, then a town 42 miles north-east of Jhansi, an appointment bestowed by the Muslim rulers of Kalpi in the Jalaun district of the U.P. A son, Mahmud Shah *ibn* Firuz Khan *ibn* Taj-ud-din Turk, of a wazir, Firuz Khan *ibn* Taj-ud-din Turk, of Sultan Tughluq Shah *ibn* Fateh Khan 790/1388—791/1399, had, according to the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* (Folio 419 b), conquered Kalpi from the Hindus in 792/1389 founding a Muslim capital there, and calling it Muhammadabad. After the death of Sultan Mahmud Shah Tughluk, 815/1413, the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* states that Nasir ud-din Mahmud Shah *ibn* Firuz Khan became sultan at Kalpi, having already received insignia of sovereignty from Mahmud Shah Tughluq.

An inscription[1] dated the 4th Rajab, 815 A.H. (10th October, 1412) on a mosque at Irich goes far to corroborate Muhammad Bihamad Khani's statement. It mentions Junaid Khan as the founder of the mosque and as governor (*wali*) of the *iqta* of Irich and both brother and pivot (*madar*) of the realm and counsellor (*dastur*) of the shah. I think Blochmann is mistaken in believing that the Mahmud referred to in the inscription (which is not completely legible) is Mahmud *ibn* Muhammad Shah *ibn* Firuz Shah Tughluq of Delhi. There is no evidence that the latter had a brother called Junaid Khan who was also his wazir, while there is evidence in the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* (F. 437 b) that Mahmud Shah *ibn* Firuz Khan *ibn* Taj ud-din Turk had such a brother. Muhammad Bihamad Khan might reasonably be suspected of exaggerating the status of his local ruler ; there is no reason, however, to suspect him of deliberate untruth over a family relationship. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*[2] also supports the claim that Mahmud *ibn* Firuz Khan was the effective ruler of Kalpi.

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1. *Jonrnal of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XLIII, March, 1874, Proceedings, 69-70.

2. Persian text, ed. M. Hidayat Hossain, *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1931.

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Malik-us-Sharq Bihamad Khan had been brought up by Malikzada Firuz Khan *ibn* Taj-ud-din Turk. After the latter's death Bihamad Khan took service with Junaid Khan being given the charge of several parganas from which, his son says, he raised ample revenue. Often he used to accompany Mahmud Shah *ibn* Firuz Khan on raiding expeditions against neighbouring Hindu rulers, being rewarded by the *iqta* of Irich. Both Muhammad Bihamad Khani and his father were wounded in battle against the invading forces of the Sultan of Jaunpur, Abu'l Fateh Ibrahim Shah. The then ruler of Kalpi, Qadir Shah, and his wazir, Daulat Khan *ibn* Junaid Khan, agreed to accept the overlordship of Ibrahim Shah. After the death of Daulat Khan, Irich was restored to Bihamad Khan through the favour of Daulat Khan's brother, Mubarak Khan *ibn* Junaid Khan. Under his father's command, Muhammad Bihamad Khani distinguished himself in wars against local Hindu chiefs. Thus, the author of the Tarikh-i-Muhammadi is unique among the writers of Tarikh in medieval India in having been an active member of the Muslim military aristocracy, being neither a royal boon companion with a bent for theology like Barni, nor a court poet like Amir Khusrau (although he had ambitions to be a poet), nor a member of a "civil service family" like Afif. This active military background is reflected in some aspects of the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi.*

How he came to write the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* is explained by the author as follows. He says he had been devoted to study, and particularly to the reading of Tarikh, from childhood. He became a disciple of Sheikh Yusuf *ibn* Mahmud Budh, the Sufi. Then one night he dreamt he was performing Hajj and saw the Prophet together with the four Rightly-guided Caliphs and the Companions. The Prophet offered him a comb and mirror, which he accepted, whereupon the Companions did him honour. Sheikh Yusuf interpreted this dream as meaning that Muhammad Bihamad Khani was certain of eternal felicity. (This dream must have occured before 834/1430, the date given (F. 164) of Sheikh Yusuf Budh's death). The author says he lost all interest in worldly vanities and decided to devote his life to praising the Prophet and to compiling a Tarikh which should bear his name. The work of authorship must have occupied several years, for in at least three places (Folios 308 b, 312 and 427) 839/1435 is mentioned as the current year.

Thus the writing of the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* was a pious pastime for the author. It does not appear, like Amir Khusrau's historical poems or Isami's *Fatuh-us-Salatin*, to have been a pot-boiler. Praises are offered at the beginning to Sultan Mahmud *ibn* Firuz Khan and descendants of Taj-ud-din Turk from Firuz Khan to Mubarak Khan *ibn* Junaid Khan.

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The praises appear, however, to be the fruit of kind recollection rather than of keen anticipation, the living and the dead being mentioned in one breath, so to speak.

The *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* is noteworthy in medieval Indian Muslim historigraphy as the only general history of Islam written in India between the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Minhaj-us-Siraj Juzjani (1259-60) and the *Tabaqat-i-Mahmud Shahi* by an unknown author (905/1499-1500). Amir Khusrau's historical poems and his *Khaza'in-ul-Futuh,* Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi,* Isami's *Futuh-us-Salatin,* Afif's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* and Yahya *bin* Ahmad Sirhindi's *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* are either devoted to the reigns of particular sultans of Delhi or to an account of the memorable deeds of Muslims in India from the time of Mahmud of Ghazni. The tradition of a general history or chronicle of the Muslim world from the time of the Prophet was very strong in the Muslim world outside India in the century in which Muhammad Bihamad Khani wrote, *e.g.* the *Majmu'al -i-Hafiz-i-Abru* (820/1417) and the *Majma-ul-Tawarikh* (830/1426) of Hafiz-i-Abru or the *Tarikh-i-Khairat* (831/1428) of Muhammad *bin* Fazl Allah al-Nusawi. I suspect the model of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasirī,* however, to have been a stronger influence upon Muhammad Bihamad Khani than these contemporary non-Indian compilations, of whose existence he may indeed have been quite unaware.

Muhammad Bihamad Khani divides the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* into four parts. The first is devoted to the life of the Prophet, the second to an account of the Four Rightly-guided Caliphs, the Banu Ummaya and the Abbasids, followed by biographies of saints (including those domiciled in India), the third to an account of the rulers of the Muslim world—the Tahirids, the Samanids, the Dailamis, the Ghaznavids, the Seljuks, the Atabegs, the Khwarazm Shahs and the Ghorids, together with the story of Chingiz Khan, of Timur and his successors, the fourth to a relation of the Muslim rulers of India, mainly the sultans of Delhi, but also of those rulers who asserted their independence of Delhi after the death of Firuz Shah Tughluk, with particular reference to the rulers of Kalpi and their wazirs,

This passage from grand and fundamental themes of Muslim civilisation—the mission of the Prophet, the imperial sway of the Ummayids and the Abbasids, even the story of the sultans of Delhi—to the record of the local rivalries and skirmishes of petty Muslim chiefs, provokes some general reflections on medieval Muslim historiography. The writing of general history in curious proportion and with sameness of treatment and idiom, whether the theme be the Abbasid caliphate or the chieftainship

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of Kalpi, expresses some of the underlying assumptions of medieval Muslims in India and elsewhere. History is the manifestation of the divine will towards God's creatures rather than the expression of human nature and activity. What has happened must of necessity have happened because God ordains everything. Furthermore, the Sunni doctrine of *ijma* means that the community of true believers is never left without divine guidance—"my people will never agree upon an error" the tradition goes. Hence whatever the community of the faithful does, is right. Furthermore, since God in effect ordains everything, everything is of equal significance and a Muslim writer of Tarikh feels no sense of disproportion or unbalance at the inclusion in a general history of Islam of a lengthy account of the deeds of his own local ruler. Indeed the posture of affairs in his own day was the inescapable outcome of the whole of previous history. History to be intelligible must be visualised on the largest scale or not at all. Everything in the story of Islam is equally important or equally trivial and enjoys equal status in a total revelation or total expression of the meaning of life in time, willed by God. Thus the urge to present the past in all its rich multiplicity of theme, with all its tantalising byeways of rejected or unregarded choices or opportunities, is absent. For Muslims the road to present is straight and clear and built by other than human hands. The countryside through which that road passes, the individual stones which make up the road, matter little. The compiler of general history is not, therefore, disturbed if his selection and ommission of facts differs from that of other authors or if there is a lack of scale, or too abrupt an abridgement of the course of events. It is the general direction of man's destiny which counts, not the individual events in which that destiny may be manifested.

Thus, the sense of God's presence informs the whole of the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, not so powerfully perhaps as in Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, but pervasively none the less.

Muhammad Bihamad Khani wrote as a historian from authorities. He names his authorities as the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, the *Taj-ul-ma'asir*, the *Tazkira t-ul-Auliya*, the *Khazinat-ul-Jalali* (saying of Saiyid Jalal-ud-din Bukhari, died 785/1383) and the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*. From 755/1354, when, says Muhammad Bihamad Khani, Barni's work ends, he relies upon "trustworthy narrators" including himself. In addition to the main authorities listed above, the author mentions others in his text as, for example, Ibn Ishaq, the biographer of the Prophet (died 150/767) or Amir Khusrau. *The Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* is not, however, a transcript of portions of those "authorities" but rather a paraphrase or abridgement of

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them. Thus, for example, while the general order of events given by Muhammad Bihamad Khani for the period Balban to Firuz Shah Tughluq follows Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, much in the latter, which stamps it indelibly as the work of Barni, is omitted, *e.g.* the moral judgments, the condemnation of the murder of Jalal-ud-din Khalji by his nephew, Ala-ud-din Khalji, the dialogues between the latter and his servants, the anti-Hindu fulminations in the account of Khusrau Khan Parwari. A detailed comparison, for which there is no space here, would also show that the author includes material not found in his main "authorities." But the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* is not a critical compilation. The truth is what reliable reporters or writers of Tarikh have said or written, not what the historian decides himself after investigating the evidence.

Muhammad Bihamad Khani's method of paraphrasing and abridging expresses his own background and experience as a soldier and Muslim noble. He records actions intelligible to soldiers and nobles—wars, revolts, conspiracies, accessions and appointments to office. He records the deeds of the great rather than the events of the time. He sees only people like himself doing what he thinks important.

The notion of historical causation in the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* appears crude and unhistorical to a modern historian. Muhammad Bihamad Khani's world is ultimately controlled by God ; the search for proximate, efficient causes is unnecessary, if not presumptuous. An interest in individual human character and idiosyncracy is a frivolous distraction from the way of salvation. A medieval Muslim should never be off-duty as a Muslim. Two general assumptions about the cause of events in history can, however, be detected in the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*. Firstly, the assumption of direct divine intervention in particular situations—the awarding of victory to one contestant and defeat to the other—and second, and more important, the assumption of God's creative activity in fashioning individual men with unchanging characters. The personalities of Muhammad Bihamad Khani's Tarikh are automata, incapable of change and growth in response to life's experiences. They act as their unchanging, precreated essence bids them act. Thus, sultans act "sultanly", wazirs "wazirly," rebels, rebelliously and soldiers, soldierly. They are social and ethical stereotypes, not men. There is no attempt at the description of particular historical situations in order to understand why the men in that situation had certain choices open to them and took this one or that. Men act according to rule. All wazirs are sagacious, all rebels ungrateful, all failing sultans either the victims of senility or of

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the sensuality of youth. Everything is explained in general and therefore nothing is explained in particular.

The *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* is not a didactic work like Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi.* Its treatment of history does not aim at teaching men the Good and how to pursue it, or at showing the Evil and how to avoid it, by showing history at work rewarding the virtuous and punishing the vicious. Such eulogies and such condemnations as there are in the work are very formal and conventional. Like most people, the author is for virtue and against sin, but even in a section of his Tarikh devoted to giving his son good advice (Folios 476-478) he does not say more, in effect, than "study the Quran, avoid worldly vanities and seek the company of God-fearing and learned ulama." In other words, he advises his son to be a good Muslim without specifying what a good Muslim is.

In sum the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* is a chronicle of the doughty deeds of Muslim rulers and nobles and of the pious lives of Muslim holy men, recorded in a turgid and conventional fashion as an act of thanksgiving to the Prophet and for the amusement of the author and his readers in their leisure hours.

As evidence for the writing of the political history of medieval India, the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* is of most value after 755/1354. Although its treatment of the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq is different in style from that of Afif's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* and Yahya bin Ahmad's *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi,* the sequence of the events common to all three is the same. However, this may not constitute independent corroboration but reliance upon a common stock of oral tradition by all three works. The question requires much further enquiry.

The unquestionable value of the Tarikh-i-Muhammadi lies in the unintended insights it provides the historian of the respect shown in it for the Tughluq sultans of Delhi, the revelation of the strength and persistence of independent Hindu chiefs in the area around Kalpi and Mahoba and in Bundelkhand. The author himself realises that the authority of Delhi was decaying before his eyes. The account of local rivalries involving the rulers of Kalpi, the sultans of Malwa and Jaunpur, not noticeably biased, re-inforces the impression of the weakness of Delhi during the "Saiyid" period gained from the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi.*

The evidence in the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* for the strength of the political position of Hindu chiefs and of the many limitations, both in geographical extent and in political and social depths, or the Turco-Muslim conquest, is very significant. It suggests that the picture of a

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powerful centralised Delhi sultanate often drawn from glimpses from such works as Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, written in what was admittedly the heyday of the sultanate, has been overmagnified and that the local wars and rivalries of semi-independent Muslim chiefs recorded in the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* were really typical of the political life of the period.

One other brief comment on the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* as evidence for political history. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*[1] states that the name of Timur was inserted by Khizr Khan *ibn* Malik Sulaiman on the coins and in the *Khutba* at the beginning of his reign and later that of Shah Rukh. This statement is not found in Bada'uni but is followed by Firishta. Thomas[2] regards the statement in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* as a "gratuitous insertion of the later epitomist," an insertion that is into Nizam-ud-din Ahmad's otherwise close rendering of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*. Now, the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* states (Folios 311 b-312) that not only Khizr Khan but also his son Mubarak Khan and his grandson Muhammad acknowledged Shah Rukh's suzerainty, the two former receiving the insignia of sovereignty from Shah Rukh and remitting tribute from India to him. The *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi's* statement may have been the ground for that in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (it has been noted earlier (P. 3) that Nizam-ud-din Ahmad referred to a *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*), but in any event it corroborates the claims of sovereignty made for the Mughal successors of Timur in India. (The passage on Folio 311 b-312 does not appear to have been an insertion by the sixteenth century copyist of the British Museum manuscript, but this possibility should be further investigated before concluding that it is an authentic fifteenth century statement.)

The *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* provides useful, if limited, evidence for other aspects of the history of medieval Muslim India. The author's version of the life of the Prophet, and of the lives of the saints should throw light both on his own theological position and upon popular hagiology. It also illumines the ethical assumptions and the psychology of literate, educated Muslims in India. The author's verses reveal something of aesthetic standards in his lifetime.

In the study of social and economic history, the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* gives rise to only the most general hypotheses. Muhammad Bihamad Khani is so uninterested himself that he does not mention Barni's account of the economic measures of Ala-ud-din Khalji. He never

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1. *Bibliotheca Indica* Persian text, Calcutta, 1927. Vol. I, pp 265-6.
2. *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 1871, p. 328.

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shows any interest in the manner in which his own family income was obtained. The land revenue system of his day is not noticed. His social attitude is one of a "cool assumption of effortless superiority." He offers no data, as it appears to me, on his own pedigree *e.g.* whether Turkish or Indian born Muslim. His attitude suggests that the apparent political chaos of the earlier fourteenth century in India was not paralleled by social chaos. Individuals within classes, whether Hindu or Muslim, might war against each other ; whole classes and communities did not. The Muslim appears indeed to have settled down in India as one of the traditional ruling castes.

I hope enough has been said to draw the attention of more historians to Muhammad Bihamad Khani's work. That work, whatever its limitations, does at least offer the historian today some opportunities of gaining an insight into the mentality of a fourteenth century inhabitant of India. As historians, we cannot remain content with mental biography but we cannot advance farther without it.

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The Personality of Yama in the Ṛgveda

By

Rev. H. HERAS, S. J.

[This article describes the prevailing conceptions of the personality of Yama. While one school of Vedic scholars regards him as an anthropomorphism of the sun and, in a few cases, of the moon, a number of other scholars of great repute regard him as a man. In proof of their view, the latter cite the dialogue between Yama and his twin sister, Yami, which is contained in the Ṛg Veda and which shows that Yama was a man, subject to the laws of Varuṇa. The author agrees with the latter view and holds that Yama was the first of men and that he was the progenitor of mankind.

We deeply mourn the passing away of Father Heras, by whose death historical scholarship in India has suffered a very great loss. —*Ed.*]

I

The first question which may be proposed in connection with Yama is one of basic importance. Was Yama only a mortal, or did he belong to the realm of immortality? Was he a man or a god? Some early Vedic scholars during the last century saw in Yama the personification of the Sun. Ehni seems to be their leader; but since Yama himself is said to be the son of Vivasvat, which is a name of the Sun, Ehni distinguishes between him and Yama. He supposed that Vivasvat is the rising sun and Yama the setting sun.[1] In order to substantiate his opinion, Ehni might quote a verse stating that "Varuṇa's massenger (*i.e.* the Sun, also called here) the Bird, with golden wings, hastened to the house of Yama,"[2] wherein there is a clear reference to the setting sun going to Yama's house which would explain why death is signified to be "the path of Yama,"[3] for following this path the Sun meets with its extinction and death.[4] Yet the verse quoted above clearly distinguishes between the setting sun and Yama, whose house the former hastens to reach.

Max Müller agrees with Ehni, and thus explains the final reason why Yama was considered to be the god of the dead: "The character of Yama, such as we find it in the last book of the *Ṛgveda*, might well have been suggested by the setting sun, personified as the leader of the human

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1. Ehni, *Der vedische Mythus des Yama*, pp. 19-39.
2. Ṛg., X, 123, 6.
3. *Ibid.*, I, 38, 5.
4. Perhaps because of this text Radhakrishnan says that Yama "is sometimes invoked as the god of the setting sun." Radhakrishnan. *Indian Philosophy*. I, p. 85.

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race, as himself a mortal, yet as a king, as the ruler of the departed, as worshipped with the fathers, as the first witness of an immortality to be enjoyed by the fathers similar to the immortality enjoyed by the gods themselves. That the king of the departed should gradually have assumed the character of the god of death, requires no explanation.[1] Also Carnoy is at times inclined to believe that Yama "is perhaps a personification of the setting Sun."[2]

Not very different is the opinion of Weber for whom Yama represents the parting day and Yamī the night[3]; while Bergaigne thinks that Yama is a form of Agni,[4] which once seems to be identified with Yama.[5] Consequently he identifies him with it,[6] and in particular with the lighting Agni, in which case Yamī would be the voice of thunder.[7] In any case for this French scholar Yama is a symbol of fire.[8] Prof. Kuhn takes Saraṇyū, Yama's mother, to be the storm-cloud, and admitting that Vivasvat is one of the many names of the Sun "considers their first born child Yama to mean Agni, the fire, or rather the lightning, followed by his twin-sister, the thunder" (Yamī).[9]

Hillebrandt, on the contrary, cannot in any way see the Sun personified in Yama, for the latter is quite different from Vivasvat, his father, who is the sun-god. Yet he cannot give up the astronomical interpretation. For him Yama is rather the moon-god, for he is described as the offspring of the Sun and is said to be a god who dies, as the moon does. This author thinks that the moon is called "the child of the Sun" in the *Ṛgveda*,[10] though Sāyaṇa interprets this passage otherwise. Another verse brought to prove his contention, *viz.*, that "the boneless one" is the Sun, and "the bony"[11] the Moon, is absolutely far-fetched and against all classical interpretations. He also refers to two more passages to prove that the Moon is said to die by the Vedic *ṛṣis*. But in one of them she is said to be "born afresh" only[12] while the other describes the "young Moon

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1. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, II, p. 563.
2. Carnoy, *Les Indo-Europeans*, p. 299.
3. Weber, *Vedische Beiträge*. pp. 3-4.
4. Bergaigne, *La Religion Vedique*, I, p. 473.
5. Ṛg., 163, 2.
6. Bergaigne, *op cit*, p. 94.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 88.92.
9. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, II, p. 570.
10. Ṛg., IX, 93, 1.
11. *Ibid.*, I, 164, 4.
12. *Ibid.*, X, 85, 19.

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waking from his slumber."[1] Such are the bases on which Hillebrandt's interpretation is founded.[2] Mr. N. Aiyangar also believes that Yama is the Moon that sprang from the Sun.[3]

All these authors regarded the Yama myth as already formed in the Ṛgvedic period, and supposed that Yama was one of the gods of the early Āryas. Accordingly, they interpreted him after the fashion of the astral school of anthropologists, which was so much in vogue during the second half of the 19th century, According to this school all ancient mythologies could be traced to the planets and stars. In our particular case, that Yama had nothing in common with the Sun and with the Moon is clear from a passage where the three are mentioned separately and in continuation as three different members in a long enumeration.[4] As to the myth being formed in this early period our essay will amply show the historical value of the Ṛgvedic references to Yama. That he was not worshipped as a god in those days we shall prove presently.

The most recent champion of the divinity of Yama is Dr. R. N. Dandekar. According to this author Yama is a god, because "he is never mentioned as a man."[5] He, moreover, opines that "there are several references to Yama in Vedic literature, which unmistakenly indicate his divinity."[6] The most powerful of these references is, for Dr. Dandekar, his connection with the sacrifice of Bṛhaspati.[7] "The part played by Yama with reference to the creation of the universe and the procreation of the human race, as well as his special connection with sacrifice are not adequately explained on the assumption that Yama was just a human figure".[8] Dr. Dandekar is not fully correct in the interpretation of Yama's sacrifice nor in the final meaning of the sacrifice of the Puruṣa. Yet for him there cannot exist any doubt about his divinity: "Yama was one among the gods; accordingly he shared in the normal immortality of gods".[9]

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1. *Ibid.*, X, 55. 5.
2. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*. I, P. 338.
3. Aiyangar, *Essays on Indo-Aryan Mythology*, I, pp. 201-202.
4. Ṛg., X, 64, 3.
5. Dandekar, "Yama in the Veda," *B. C. Law Volume*, I, p. 200.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Ṛg., X, 13.
8. Dandekar, *op. et loc. cit.*
9. *Ibid.*, p. 8. Dr. Dandekar closely follows the views of Guntert, *Der Arische Weltkönig, und Heiland*, pp. 388-389.

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Yet a number of scholars of great repute like Roth,[1] Hopkins,[2] Oldenberg,[3] Scharman,[4] Carnoy,[5] and Bloomfield[6] are of the opinion that Yama originally was a mere man. In fact Yima, the Iranian parallel of Yama, is certainly a man beyond any doubt, and Yama's dialogue with Yamī, which we shall refer to presently, shows that he was a man[7] subject to the law of Varuṇa,[8] and watched by the spirits, messengers of God.[9] This difference between Varuṇa and Yama is once at least rightly emphasised when mentioned together, for the former is called "deva," the latter having no qualification at all.[10]

For Dr. Dandekar it is very "significant that Yama is never called a 'man.' "[11] Yet he equally acknowledges that "he is never explicitly called 'god' in the *ṚV*."[12] and he even confesses that "Yama is represented in the Veda as possessing so very markedly human features that it is difficult to believe that it is merely a case of normal anthropomorphism."[13] Consequently, since in his opinion Yama is a god, he cannot but conclude that "that god, Yama, is thus different from other gods;"[14] this difference being that he is a god-made man: "Yama as a matter of fact, possesses, in the Vedic Mythology, the peculiar character of 'god-man'."[15] This strange combination is finally explained by the author when he states that "the true nature of the personality of that god was already being lost sight of" in the *Ṛgveda*.[16] This seems to be tantamount to admitting that Yama in the *Ṛgveda* is only a man, though he seems to have been a god in an earlier period. We must confess that this mythological evolution *a majore ad minus* seems rather puzzling. In any case how do we know of his

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1. Roth (R), "Die Sage von Dschemschid," *Z. D. M. G.*, IV, pp. 4 5-31.
2. Hopkins, "Note on the Development of the Character of Yama," *J. A. O S.*, XV (1891), pp. XCIV-XCV.
3. Oldenberg, *La Religion du Véda*, p. 454 (Paris, 1903).
4. Scharman, *Materialien zur Geschichte der Visionsliteratur*, pp. 7-8.
5. Carnoy, "Iranian Views of Origins in connection with similar Babylonian Beliefs," *J. A. O. S.*, XXXVI, p. 315.
6. Bloomfield, *Religion of Veda*, p. 105. Cf. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 174, No. 30.
7. Ṛg., X, 10, 3, 7, 12, etc.
8. *Ibid.*, X, 10, 6.
9. *Ibid.*, X, 10, 2 and 8.
10. *Ibid*, X, 14, 7.
11. Dandekar, *op, cit.*, p. 194.
12. *Ibid.*,
13. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

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divinity in a period earlier than the *Ṛgveda*? Even as far late as the Buddhist *Nikāyas*, Yama, when referred to among the *devas* who judge the dead, is only styled *rāja*, never *deva*.[1]

Dr. Dandekar is not the only scholar who has long hesitated in defining and fixing the nature of Yama. Bergaigne says that Yama is "a personage whose nature is equivocal, as he is sometimes a god and sometimes a man."[2] For Hopkins Yama is "a primitive king, not historically so, but poetically, the first man."[3] There was formerly in India a sect of fanatic devotees who did actually worship Yama as a god. The sect is mentioned in the *Śankara-vijaya* of Ānandagiri. It was extirpated with others, through the efforts and instrumentality of Śaṅkara.[4]

II

Yama in the *Ṛgveda* is supposed to be the first man, equal to Yīma, the Iranian first man: "Yama, a god, who belongs already to the Indo-Iranian prehistoric period; for he is identical with Yīma, who, in the *Avesta*, is the first human being, the primeval ancestor of the human race."[5]

In the famous dialogue between Yama and Yamī, Yamī addresses Yama calling him "the sole existing mortal" from whom progeny is expected. "Yea," says Yamī to Yama, "this the immortals seek of thee with longing: progeny of the sole existing mortal."[6] This corresponds to the command that Yima receives from Ahūra Mazda himself to further and increase the world[7]; which is the same that Elohim addresses to Adam and Eve in the account of *Genesis*: "Increase and multiply, and fill the earth."[8]

Later, in the same hymn Yamī, while rejecting the scruples of Yama, who considered a sexual intercourse with Yamī, his sister, as incestuous, is furthermore introduced saying: "Is he the brother when no lord is left her? Is she the sister when destruction (*nirṛiti*) cometh."[9] Yama,

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1. Rhys Davids, *Indian Religion and Survival*, p. 75.
2. Bergaigne, *op. cit.*, I, p. 111.
3. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, p. 134.
4. Cf. Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 59.
5. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 78. Notice the inconsistency of calling him a *god* and equating him with the first *man* of the *Avesta*. Cf. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, II, p. 569.
6. Ṛg., X, 10, 3.
7. *Vendīdād*, Fargard II, 1, 4.
8. *Gen.*, I, 28.
9. Ṛg., X, 10, 11.

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therefore, was the only man with whom Yamī could have such union. If he were eliminated *nirṛiti* would come, the human race would not exist. Yama therefore was the first man on earth. In this sense the *Atharva-veda* calls him "the assembler of men"[1] *i.e.* one who caused the assembly of men, the first human family.[2] "The tone of the whole dialogue between the twin brother and sister," acknowledges Dandekar, "is unmistakably human, and its theme is, without doubt, the procreation of mankind."[3] In this sense he is expressly styled in the *Ṛgveda*, "Lord of races, the father."[4]

In spite of this Max Müller, obsessed by the idea that Yama and Yamī are the day and the night, says : "There is not a single word in the *Ṛgveda* pointing to Yama and Yamī as the first couple of mortals—as the Indian Adam and Eve.....If Yama had been the first created of men, surely the Vedic poets, in speaking of him could not have passed this over in silence."[5]

There is in the *Ṛgveda* a parallel personage of Yama as the progenitor of mankind, and that is Manu. "Manu," says Dandekar, "was thus more or less a 'double' of Yama."[6] Manu is, indeed, very often spoken of as the progenitor of the human race[7] ; they call him "our father"[8] and "life bestowing."[9] Accordingly Manu is said to have existed "long ago"[10] or is mentioned as being "of ancient days."[11] Indra himself in order to emphasize his own eternity, says : "I was aforetime Manu,"[12] as if saying. "I was before that the first man existed."

In this sense both Yama and Manu are referred to as the ancestors of some human families. Here they are the Vasiṣṭhas, who are spoken of as "wearing the vesture (*i.e.*, the body) spun for them by Yama ;"[13] there the Ribhus are said to be "the grandsons of Manu."[14]

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1. *Ath*. XVIII, 3, 13.
2. Some similar expressions, which will be quoted later, refer to the gathering of souls in heaven after death. Yet here the expression is put before the death of Yama himself ; consequently it seems to refer to the gathering of men on earth.
3. Dandekar, *op, cit.*, p. 6.
4. Ṛg., X, 135, 1.
5. Max Müller, *op. cit.*, II, p. 568.
6. Dandekar, *op. cit* , p. 209.
7. Ṛg., I, 45, I, 68 ; 4 ; 80, 16 ; III, 3, 6 ; IV, 54, I ; Vālakhilya, 1, 8.
8. *Ibid.*, I, 114, 2 ; II, 33, 13
9. *Ibid.*, IX, 96, 12.
10. *Ibid*., I. 112, 16.
11. *Ibid* , I, 139, 9.
12. *Ibid.*, IV, 26, 1.
13. *Ibid.*, VIII, 33, 9, cf. v. 12.
14. *Ibid.*, III, 60, 3.

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On account of this great dignity as the father of the whole mankind, Yama is always distinguished from the *pitṛs*, who have reached his house in *svarga*.[1] He is in fact their "king and lord."[2] Even later when it is inquired whether in the Soma Sacrifice the verse to Yama is to be recited prior to that to the Fathers, the reply is that the one addressed to Yama should be recited first[3]; from which words it seems that he is counted as a *pitā*, "father," but, indeed, the first of all. In fact, the blessed in the *Atharvaveda* are denominated: "The fathers of Our Father,"[4] with special reference to Yama's overlordship over them. Also Manu is rightly separated from the crowd of *pitṛs*. "Lead us not," prays the devout *ṛṣi*, "from our fathers" and from Manu's path into the distance far away."[5]

It may possibly be objected that both Yama and Manu are said to have had parents Consequently they can hardly be held as the father of the human race. That Yama was the first man is expressly acknowledged by Roth,[6] Kaegi[7] and Monier-Villiams.[8] Deshmukh, more sophisticated, and influenced perhaps by evolutional theories, which wrongly lead him to accept as a fact what has never been proven, calls Yama "the ancestor," but not without adding the qualification of "mythical."[9] To qualify as mythical a traditional memory of the early history of mankind is totally unfair to the rights of impartial history, nor does it commend the critical flair of the writer.

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1. *Ibid.*, X, 15, 8.
2. Dandekar, op. cit. 194.
3. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, III, 3, 13, 13.
4. *Ath.*, XVIII, 3, 59.
5. Ṛg., VIII, 30, 3.
6. Roth, "Die Sage von Dschemschid," *Z. D. M. G.*, IV, p. 426.
7. Kaegi, *The Rigveda*, p. 69.
8. Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 289.
9. Desmukh, *The Origin and Development of Religion in Vedic Literature*, p. 127.

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Raja Gulab Singh's Aim After 1839.

By

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[Dr. Khanna describes how the Dogra chief, Raja Gulab Singh, succeeded in establishing his power in Jammu and Kashmir.

After the death of Ranjit Singh, Sikh power in Panjab began to disintegrate and disruptive forces led to the First Anglo-Sikh War. Gulab Singh formed the design of consolidating his authority in the hilly regions. To achieve this he refrained from embroiling himself in the turbid politics at Lahore and so manouvered matters during the First Anglo-Sikh War that his help was sought by the English and proved to great value to them. The British government rewarded him by bestowing on him and his heirs in perpetuity all the hill country lying west of the Ravi and east of the Indus for the paltry sum of Rs. 75 lakhs.—*Ed.*]

The aristocracy of sardars, which Maharaja Ranjit Singh had created and which had served him loyally, proved to be a most doubtful legacy in the struggles for power and party alignments, which followed his death. The Dogra rajas of Jammu took a leading share in this struggle. While Raja Dhian Singh held the *wazarat* at Lahore, Raja Gulab Singh mostly stayed in Jammu to look after the jagirs. His first principal appearance occurred in November, 1840, when Mai Chand Kaur, Maharaja Kharak Singh's widow, set up her claim to exercise authority after the death of Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh. Gulab Singh headed the sardars who supported the claim of the Mai. Raja Dhian Singh and others backed up prince Sher Singh on the ground that a man's rule would serve the interests of the state better. But the Mai got the upper hand for a short time. Raja Dhian Singh went away to Jammu, and Sher Singh to Batala, but not before establishing a liaison with the troops.[1] Shortly afterwards Sher Singh appeared unexpectedly at Lahore. A considerable portion of the troops flocked to support him and he laid siege to the fort of Lahore. In defending the fort, Gulab Singh inflicted a heavy fire on the Sikh troops for which they never forgave him. Eventually Sher Singh won, but Dhian Singh was able to arrange satisfactory terms both for the Mai and Gulab Singh.[2] The Dogra troops were to be searched to prevent their leaving the fort with any treasure. It may be surmised that there was

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1. Clerk to Maddock, 17th January, 1841 (Ind. Sec. Cons. 1st February, 1841, No 63).
2. Same to same, 18th and 19th January (*Ibid.* Nos. 65 and 67). Also Panjab Intelligence up to 17th January (*Ibid.* No. 69).

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really no rift in the Dogra camp. Only the two brothers were keeping their mutual interests entirely safe by joining opposite camps. Nor, perhaps, had Dhian Singh anticipated military action. Actually Gulab Singh was not badly off. Mai Chand Kaur entrusted him with the management of her new jagirs near Jammu, which were allotted to her as a part of the new arrangement. He left for Jammu as he had no desire to cross swords with Dhian Singh. Besides, his ambitions lay in consolidating his power in the hills.

Sher Singh was really opposed to the Dogras, although he could not do without Raja Dhian Singh in negotiating business pertaining to the Afghan expedition with the British. Dhian Singh's position was not easy. Gulab Singh in the hills was, therefore, well out of the dangers certain to arise from his brother aspiring to a predominant position at the Lahore darbar. Not that he was not a match for the intrigues of his opponents, but he did not wish to get himself embroiled in the affairs of Lahore before it was really necessary. And he judged that that moment had not yet come. But he made sure that his interests did not suffer through his absence from Lahore. He fully used the power of Dhian Singh at Lahore to extend his influence and territories in the hills. This was made possible by their influence in determining the course of Anglo Sikh relations during the Afghan campaign. War in the hills was deliberately protracted to ward off subsequent attention on the part of Sher Singh towards the possessions of the Dogras.[1] Kulu was not annexed even when its raja died heirless. Eventually Sher Singh was obliged to issue a public document recognizing the Dogra possessions to be perpetual in the family. Further, it was agreed that Dogra troops required from the rajas in lieu of any of their jagirs would not be enlisted in any other division of the Lahore army. So troops raised by them on lower pay could not be absorbed in the Sikh army, but they were free to employ them in the pursuit of their political interest.[2] Gulab Singh conquered Ladakh and Baltistan and compelled the Raja of Iskardo to pay tribute. He suppressed the rebellion of the troops in Kashmir, thus obtaining a great hold on the new governor, Sheikh Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din. He looked eastward in the direction of the Chinese territory, and, scanning wider horizons, even thought of opening relations with Kashghar; but the British government used its influence with the Lahore darbar to stop the extension of the political influence of the Dogras.[3]

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1. Clerk to Maddock, 13th April (Ind. Sec. Cons. 26th April, 1841, No. 57).
2. Same to same, 28th April (Ind. Sec. Cons. 17th May, 1841, No. 77).
3. Clerk to Government. 4th September (Ind. Sec. Cons, 20th September, 1841, No. 65).

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After finishing his work in Kashmir, Gulab Singh was directed to devote his attention to the lower Yusafzai country to put down the zamindars of Hazara and to suppress Payinda Khan. Before he could do the latter job, his great opportunity came with the Kabul insurrection of November, 1841, and he was asked to march to Peshawar to co-operate fully with the British authorities. Left to himself he would have fully devoted his attention to Ladakh, whence he had received the news of the death of Zorawar Singh and the failure of the expedition against the Chinese. But he obeyed the darbar, although he marched tardily towards Peshawar. In the meantime Brigadier Wild had suffered a defeat in forcing his way through the Khaibar. Avitabile, the Sikh governor of Peshawar, had failed to supply an effective Sikh contingent as promised by the darbar. Gulab Singh was, therefore, required to assist General Pollock at the head of the Jallalabad relief force. Gulab Singh arrived at Peshawar on 15th January, 1842. His troops had been engaged in continuous operations mentioned above and wanted relief. His whole attitude during the course of long conversations with the Britsh military and political officers made it quite clear to them that he would not co-operate with them without hope of reward. Henry Lawrence consequently told the raja's *wazir* that his services would be suitably remembered by his government.[1] So he set about the task and, after negotiating with the Afridis to hold the Khaibar in support of Pollock's army, left for Ladakh. After the destruction of the Kabul army on its way to Jallalabad, the British government decided to send only a punitive expedition under Pollock and eventually to withdraw from Afghanistan. Fearing that the Sikh troops would not advance to Jallalabad, a proposal was mooted to allow the darbar to hold Jallalabad and the territory on the left bank of the Kabul in their possession.[2] It was believed that if the Lahore darbar failed to achieve this, the Dogras would certainly be able to do so. This shows how high Gulab Singh's credit was in the eyes of the British, and also the extent to which the British were prepared to go, in not helping the Dogras, but themselves. This proposal was, however, never completed owing to various reasons.

This period of twelve months up to the end of 1842 was particularly good for Gulab Singh. Using the pre-occupation of the darbar in the Afghan expedition, he refused to render an account of the farms until he was given credit for the contingent troops, which he had maintained.

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1. Clerk to Maddock with a letter from Henry Lawrence. 17th February (Ind. Sec. Cons. 21st March, 1842, No. 74).

2. Maddock to Clerk, 6th August (Ind. Sec Cons. 12th October, 1842, Nos. 64 and 65).

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Sher Singh's need for money was acute and he would not have minded the extension of territories of the Dogras if they had paid for their jagirs. As he continued to press this subject, Dhian Singh went away to Jammu in January, 1843, to arrange to give up all the farms except the regular jagirs and to bring back Gulab Singh.

The conclusion of the Afghan expedition gave Sher Singh freedom from depending on the Dogras. So he drew towards the Sindhanwalas, the net result of which was that both he and Dhian Singh were murdered in cold blood on 15th September, 1843. This was a distinct loss to Gulab Singh, as his nephew Hira Singh, who succeeded at Lahore, did not view the family interests in the hills with the same enthusiasm as his father had done. Nor did he see eye to eye with his uncle, Raja Suchet Singh, who, being unable to compete with Gulab Singh in the hills, appeared now to compete with him for political power at Lahore.[1] Hira Singh requested Gulab Singh to come to Lahore to resolve matters. It was quite clear to Gulab Singh that the Lahore darbar should continue in a position of stability until he had time to secure his position in the hills.[2] So he came on a very short visit and effected some sort of a reconciliation between the two. But Suchet Singh came back to Lahore, and in the effort to set up his political leadership in support of prince Kashmira Singh, he was killed. Hira Singh was supported in his policies, even those against his family interests, by his adviser, Pandit Julla. Hira Singh was made to realize the disadvantage to himself of his uncle's selfish and ambitious designs in the hills. Hira Singh felt that his position at Lahore was becoming difficult, and sooner or latter he would have to retire to the hills and share power with his uncle.[3] How would this be possible if his uncle had, in the meantime, secured his virtual independence of the Lahore darbar? That would surely be too late for himself. He therefore decided on a measure calculated to safeguard his own interests as much as those of the Lahore darbar. Gulab Singh had refused to settle Suchet Singh's property. Hira Singh, therefore, threatened an invasion of Jammu. Then Gulab Singh made a settlement.[4] Hira Singh received half of the forts and territory in addition to money and movables valued at a little less than one crore and a half rupees. Gulab Singh, who had bent before the storm, was far too astute to let things rest at that. He encouraged prince Peshora Singh to

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1. Richmond to Thomason, 16th October and 1st November, 1843 (Ind. Sec. Cons. 23rd March, 1844, No. 519). Also Sohan Lal, *Umdut-ut-Twārikh*, Bk. IV, Part III, pp. 37-38.
2. Richmond to Thomason, 23rd Sep., 1843, (Ind. Sec. Cons. 23rd March, 1844, No. 481).
3. Sohan Lal, *Umdut-ut-Twārikh*, Bk. IV, Part III, pp. 60-63.
4. Richmond to Currie, 30th October, (Ind. Sec. Cons. 23rd November 1844. No. 108).

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escape from the Punjab and also excited an insurrection in Muzaffrabad in Kashmir. Hira Singh and Julla were now very near their end, which came when the troops went over in active support to Rani Jindan. The defaulting sardars, from whom Julla was planning to extort heavy arrears of revenue to meet the arrears of pay of the army, were only too ready to encourage another political change.

The Rani's brother succeeded to the *wazarat*. His financial trouble was as acute as that of Hira Singh. So the old plan of attacking Gulab Singh's territories to extort arrears of revenue was renewed. Gulab Singh was ready to adopt whatever measures served his purpose. He made military preparations on the one hand and protested loyalty to the darbar on the other. This behaviour was of a piece with his character. He did not really intend to fight, but to gain his object through diplomacy and intrigue. He did every thing to undermine the authority of the darbar. He incited Sultan Muhammad Khan to claim Peshawar. He excited troubles in the Derajat, Hazara, the country between Attock and Rohtas, and also in Muzaffrabad.[1] He also bribed various sardars and *mutasaddis* at Lahore. But his efforts were not very successful. The terms proposed by the darbar were unfavourable. He could retain his jagirs if his contingent rendered military service. He could hold the salt mines and the country farmed to him if he paid increased revenues.[2] At the same time preparations for an attack on Jasrota continued fast. Gulab Singh repaired the defection in his family by offering suitable terms to Suchet Singh's widow. He surrendered the fort of Jasrota, but not before removing the principal treasure from there. He intrigued desperately and successfully with the troops, opening direct negotiations with them. He turned the troops, against both Lal Singh, the commander, and Jawahar Singh, the *wazir*. But he suffered military reverses, and eventually surrendered himself on terms, which, if carried into effect, would have brought substantial gain to the Lahore darbar, although not to the extent of its rights. "With his hands folded and a sheet over his neck as a suppliant, (Gulab Singh) stood before the chiefs and professed sorrow for his offences, leaving punishment or forgiveness in their hands."[3] He continued to bribe various elements in his favour. This crisis throws abundant light on the character of Gulab Singh. A continued war might have given him an honourable

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1. Broadfoot to Currie, 10th and 27th December, 1844, and 1st, 7th and 16th January, 1845 (Ind. Sec. Cons. 4th April, 1845, Nos. 14 and 36 and 47, 68 and 102).
2. Same to same, 14th January, (Ind. Sec. Cons. Idem. No. 103).
3. Broadfoot to Govt., 18th March, (Ind. Sec. Cons. 20th June, 1845, No. 22).

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death, but he preferred temporary humiliation if it led to eventual success. He realized the implications of a position dominated by unstable political elements. He might be destroyed, or his intrigues might even place him at the head of affairs. Who could say? Actually things turned in his favour largely becacuse his opponents commanded no confidence. The army was prepared to put Gulab Singh in a position of absolute command. He said that he would collect nearly 6 crores of rupees by way of arrears from the defaulting sardars and would thus keep the army going for the next fifteen years.[1] This move at once brought the chiefs together against him and he entered Lahore as a prisoner, but was set free through the influence of the troops. He used all his skill in intrigue to oust both Jawahar Singh and Lal Singh from the field, and saw his final objective clearly in the midst of his difficulties. He must possess enough influence at the Lahore darbar to make his aid to the British government or his neutrality, worth buying by the English, at a high price.[2] This view about Gulab Singh proved to be singularly correct. With Jawahar Singh as *wazir*, he virtually exercised all the power, and advised the *wazir* to collect heavy arrears from the defaulting chiefs. This was the best way of discrediting his rivals.

Having secured his position by obtaining more jagirs, Gulab Singh left Lahore in August, 1845, presumably for a few months, but actually he did not come back until after the battle of Aliwal. His stay at the capital from April to August had shown him that an upheaval was not far off. The rebellion of prince Peshora Singh brought about his death. Jawahar Singh was himself killed by the orders of the army, which now predominated. Jindan, who succeeded to this terrible political legacy, could do nothing but encourage the army in the belief that the British had set their hearts on the conquest of the Panjab. Their attitude was clear from the manner in which they treated the Sikh claims. Things were positively drifting towards war. The First Sikh War came in early December, and in spite of deeds of bravery, it did not go well for the Sikh troops.

Immediately on his return to Jammu Gulab Singh had offered a promise of complete help to the British government if it assented. He wanted a guarantee for the life possesssion of the family estates and a guarantee for himself and his heirs for ever of Jammu and the neighbouring territories. But he got no such assurance.[3] In fact the British government

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1. Broadfoot to Currie (personal), 5th April (Ind. Sec Cons. 27th June, 1845, No. 45 and 55).
2. Broadfoot to Currie, 5th May (Ind. Sec. Cons. 20th June, 1845, No. 58).
3. Broadfoot to Currie, 25th August (Ind. Sec. Cons, 25th October, 1845. Nos. 45 and [illegible])

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had informed the political agent as early as June, 1844, that any hopes given to Gulab Singh were unauthorised and inconsistent with the spirit of engagements with the Lahore darbar and that the best course for it to follow was to keep itself uncommitted and free to act in the event of the kingdom of the Panjab being broken up.[1]

Before the war broke out, Gulab Singh had received messages from the army to come and assume leadership, but he was unable to accept such a position at that stage. But it suited him to impress the British government with his influence at Lahore. He was prepared to side with the British if they guaranteed him his territory. As he failed to obtain this, the best course for him was to stay in Jammu until such time as his enemies at Lahore had been discredited by their incompetence and the army had also been defeated

He arrived in Lahore on 28th December, 1845, when the Sikh army had been defeated in three actions. Taking charge of the position, he railed at his opponents among the sardars for commencing the war and the troops for poor fighting. He got them to accept lower pay, and endeavoured to give the war a national colour. He was formally appointed *wazir* on 31st December. He created the impression that the Khalsa was unable to cope with the war successfully. The troops in Lahore resolved to support him in peace or war and the mention of peace naturally cooled down the enthusiasm of those on the front. Gulab Singh was indeed in a difficult position. The Governor-General's proclamation of 13th December had given him hopes of benefiting from the war if he did not join the Sikhs.[2] His acceptance of the *wazarat* was obviously inconsistent with his personal ambition. He must therefore do something to safeguard his position.[3] It was clear that the Sikh army at Sobraon must be beaten. Until this happened, there was no hope of arranging peace. So he condemned the war and let it continue. He sent help to the front, but himself stayed behind to serve the Khalsa at the headquarters.[4] Fortunately for him this crisis did not last longer than a fortnight. The battle of Sobraon was fought on 10th February. Within four days the Governor-General arrived at Kasur. On the 15th the Lahore delegation of three headed by

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1. Currie to Richmond, 13th June, 1844 (Ind. Sec. Cons. 13th July, 1844, No. 127).
2. Hardinge to Ripon, 4th March, 1846 (Ripon Cons. Br. Mus. Add. Mss. 40875, ff. 167-174).
3. Governor-General to Secret Committee, 19th Feb., 1846 (*Ibid.* ff. 80-98).
4. Panjab Intelligence. 4th to 10th Feburary, 1846 (Ind. Sec. Cons. 26th Dec., 1846, No. 370).

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Gulab Singh arrived. Gulab Singh was told that the darbar would be punished for its unprovoked attack, but that government would show its appreciation of Gulab Singh's conduct. One of the terms of the proposed treaty required an indemnity of one crore and a half rupees. Negotiations indicated that the darbar could not pay more than 50 lakhs. So it was suggested that certain hill territories might be ceded in lieu thereof. Article 4 of the treaty stated that the Lahore government, being unable to pay the one crore and a half demanded as indemnity, ceded in perpetual soverignty the forts, territories, rights and interests between the rivers Beas and Indus, including Kashmir and Hazara, in lieu of one crore of rupees. The British government decided to keep the hill territories between the Beas and the Ravi and to give the remaining hill territory to Raja Gulab Singh and to recognise his independence in these territories. Maharaja Dalip Singh was also to recognise the independence of Gulab Singh. On 16th March a separate treaty was concluded with Gulab Singh, whereby all the hill country east of the Indus and west of the Ravi including Chamba, but excluding Lahaul, was given to him and the heirs male of his body in perpetual independence for 75 lakhs of rupees. But he was to recognize the paramountcy of the British government, which would protect him from foreign attack. In lieu thereof he was required to present annually one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (6 male and 6 female) and three pairs of Kashmir shawls.[1]

In this manner Gulab Singh became the first Maharaja of Kashmir, independent of the Lahore darbar, but subordinate to the British government. We are aware of his ambitions in this direction virtually from the death of Ranjit Singh. But it is not possible to acquit him of disloyalty towards the darbar, even if we remember that a disintegrating kingdom invariably gives opportunities to ambitious feudatories. Nor is it possible to justify the policy of the British government in selling for a paltry sum of money one of the fairest tracts of country in India. It was obviously influenced by its policy to reward Gulab Singh for his friendly and peaceful conduct throughout his relations with it. And the most practical way of rewarding him was to give him territory, which he wanted so much, in return for a part of the money the darbar could not pay, and which the darbar would have been unable to manage satisfactorily in its weakened state.

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1. Parliamentry Papers, c 77 of 1846, pp 99-102.

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The Struggle over the Panjab

(*The Sikhs, Mughals and Afghans*)

By

Prof. SITA RAM KOHLI, M.A.

[In the course of an illuminating survey of the history of Panjab from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, Professor Kohli traces the causal connection between certain sets of events and brings out the parallelism between different phases of Mughal rule on the one hand and successive stages in the rise and growth of the Sikhs on the other. During the first phase Guru Nanak organised a religio-social front against the Muslim outlaught on Hinduism. The Mughals sensed a potential political danger in the Sikh organisation and tried to destroy it by executing the fifth and ninth Gurus. Far from finishing the Sikhs, the executions had the effect of giving a militant turn to the movement till Guru Gobind Singh resolved to overthrow Mughal tyranny in Panjab at a time when Aurangzeb had made himself extremely obnoxious to the vast majority of his subjects. The third synchronisation consisted in the disappearance of Mughal rule from Panjab resulting in the occupation of the region by Ahmad Shah Abdali and the formation of the Dal Khalsa by the Sikhs, who had, by now, become a power to be seriously reckoned with. The appearance of the Dal Khalsa was the answer to the challange of the prospect of the establishment of alien rule in Panjab.—*Ed.*]

The synchronising of some of the under-mentioned events and their subsequent repercussions on one another as also their influence on the course of history forms a very interesting phenomenon in the modern history of our country. In the chronological order, the first of these events to take place was the founding of the Mughal empire by Babar and of the Sikh church by Guru Nanak during the closing years of the first quarter of the 16th century. The next came about a century and three-quarters later, when the last of the line of the spiritual successors of Nanak had created the militant Khalsa and embarked upon an open struggle with the Mughals during the years A.D. 1699-1707. It was during these very years that the aged Aurangzeb, who was also the last of the noteworthy successors of Babar, had the misfortune of witnessing what has been aptly described as "the beginning of the end of the Mughal empire." Indeed, as is revealed from some of the emperor's own writings, the presentiments of the ruin of the empire continued haunting him during these years and to one of his sons he wrote : *"az má ast hamá fas fissád bāqi."* The third event of the series happened about half a century after the second and in a different context. In 1748, the Afghans of Kabul launched their first compaign for the possession of the Panjab ; and, as it happened, it was in the early part of this very year that some fifty to sixty Sikh military captains had, in the larger interests of the Panth, agreed to pool their

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resources with the object of creating a bigger and national army called the 'Dal Khalsa.' The fourth or the last set of these synchronising events happened during A.D. 1765-67. The Sikhs seized Lahore, minted their coin and proclaimed the Khalsa as the sovereign power in the Panjab and the redoubtable Pathan warrior, Ahmad Shah, who had since 1748 led the Afghan compaigns in this country, fell into the grip of an incurable disease and gave up further fighting with the Sikhs.

It will make an interesting study to seek the *rationale* of these events. We might very well pose the question whether the launching of his invasion by Babar and the launching of his reform movement by Nanak *just* came to happen about the same time or whether they were set in one and the same context of events and can be traced to common background In the case of Babar we know that this exiled prince of Farghana had found the kingdom of Kabul too small for his ambition. But it was the disintegrating state of the Delhi sultanate and the political intrigues of the court of Delhi during these years that had whetted his ambition and made it easy for him to occupy the country. If the political decay of the Turkish sultanate of Delhi had held out temptations to Babar, it had also raised new hopes and aspirations in the minds of the Hindus. The south had succeeded in building a powerful independent kingdom in Vijyanagar, which checked further southward advance of the Bahamanide Moslems and saved and preserved the Hindu culture for another two hundred and fifty years. Was not such a course possible in northern India, now that the Muslim sultanate of Delhi was dissolving ? Why allow another foreign adventurer (Babar) to set up a second empire ? A political front was thus created by the Rajput princes, who gathered together under the banner of the veteran Rana Sanga and got ready to measure swords with the Mughal invader.

It was in this re-awakened state of society that Guru Nanak, too, had appeared. He had witnessed the social and political disabilities from which his people suffered under their Muslim masters. He was also aware of the servile and cowardly attitude of his own people and some of his utterances clearly reveal his resentment against what he calls "aping the manners of their masters, learning their language (Persian) and wearing the Muslim style of the black and blue coloured dress and discarding their own *dharma* and their own *bhasha*." Again, on receiving the report of the passing of Delhi into the hands of Babar after the battle of Panipat, the Guru became sore with anger and in a couple of utterances severely rebuked the Lodhi Pathans for not putting up a stiff fight. "The dogs of the Lodhi Pathan," says he, "have thrown away the priceless inheritance (India); when they are dead, no one will remember them with regard." But what was the remedy ? Military opposition in the Panjab

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was out of the question. Nanak, accordingly, proceeded to organise a religio-social front against the Muslim onslaught on Hinduism. The weakest points in Hindu religion, against which the Muslim divines would direct attack, were (i) their belief in the plurality of god and goddesses, (ii) their idolatorous mode of worship and (iii) the unequal status assigned to members of the various *varanas* or castes in the social set-up. The reforming of the Hindu religion in these directions, the Guru thought, was the best and safest course to adopt under the circumstances. If successful, it would not only help in purifying and bringing about the desired change in the theological beliefs and practices of the Hindus, but would also knock the bottom out of the Muslim rancour against the religion of the Hindus. In his teaching Guru Nanak laid emphasis on the oneness of God and on worshipping Him by meditating on His name rather than by making images of Him. His selection of the epithets of God and the sequence in which these occur in the 'Japji' or the hymn for every day recital, seem to have been made with a definite purpose. The epithet *ek* or one comes first and foremost and the choice of *oṇkar* is most appropriate and full of significance. It is the sublimest of God's epithets and is *exclusively* used for Him in the scriptures and has, perhaps, never been used for any other deity. The epithet *ajuni* similarly appears to have been selected with an object. It denotes freedom from the bondage of birth and death and was intended to neutralize or negative the prevailing Hindu belief in the *avataras* or the doctrine of the incarnation of God. The epithet *nirvair i.e.* without enmity or rancour-is used, probably in opposition to the Muslim epithet of *qahar* or wrathful.[1]

Nanak also attacked and vigorously, too, the social disabilities imposed by custom and usage upon the members of the lower order of society. Man is man, urged Guru Nanak, and all men are equal in the eyes of God. The Guru devoted his entire life to the work of spiritual emancipation of his people, which he believed must precede any attempt to secure political emanciption. And, as we know, the Sikhs did actually win their political freedom in the end. In the words of Dr. Narang "the sword which carved the Khalsa's way to glory was, undoubtedly, forged by Gobind Singh, but the steel had been provided by Nanak."

The successors of Nanak and Babar went on pursuing their respective missions for four generations, when, towards the close of this period,

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1. The first stanza of the "Japjī" reads as: Ek oṇkār, sat nām, kartā purakh, nirbhow, nirvair, akāl mūrat ajuni sai bhang, gurprasad, jap ād sach, jugād sach, hai bhī sach, Nanak hosī bhī sach.

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the first clash came. During this period, Nanak's followers had been organised into a compact community, which came very near a theocratic state. The Mughal monarch, Jahangir, perhaps, saw a potential danger in this organization and decided to finish it. He was looking out for an excuse which he got when his son prince Khusro revolted and escaped from Delhi towards Lahore and on his way happened to meet Guru Arjan Dev, the then pontiff of the Sikh church. The rest of the story may well be told in the emperor's own words. He writes in his Memoirs: "He (Arjan) was noised about as a religious and worldly leader. They called him Guru and from all directions crowds of fools would come to him and express great devotion to him. This false traffic (*dukan-i-batil*) had been carried on for three or four generations. For years the thought had been presenting itself to me that either I should put an end to this false traffic, or he (Guru) should be brought into the fold of Islam.....This foolish boy (prince Khusro) sought his blessings and the Guru applied a saffron mark on his forehead, which, among the Hindus, is regarded as a gesture of blessings in the prince's favour.....I ordered that the Guru should be brought to my presence, that his property be confiscated and that his house and children be made over to Murtaza Khan."

Guru Arjan was given the choice to accept Islam or suffer death. It was a moment of great trial in his life as also in that of the movement set on foot by Nanak more than seventy years before. Arjan Dev's courage, fortitude and his faith in the ultimate destiny of his mission stood him in good stead at this juncture. He decided to give up his life rather than abjure his faith. He was executed in May, 1606. The challenge given by the Mughal emperor was bravely accepted. Arjan Dev's son and successor very significantly added two swords to the traditional symbols of priest-hood—one to avenge the wrong done to his father and the other to prepare his followers in self-defence against further aggression of the Mughal rulers. The next important land mark in the Sikh-Mughal struggle is the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur, the son of Hargobind. He happened to occupy the pontifical seat at the time when Aurangzeb's anti-Hindu policy was working at its full vigour. The imperial news-writers of the Panjab misrepresented the Guru's activities and in their reports accused him as a 'rebel,' who was leading innocent people astray from the path of loyalty and allegiance and was himself subsisting on plunder. The mental poise of the emperor had already been seriously disturbed owing to the recent prolonged rising of the Pathan tribes in the immediate neighbour-hood of the Panjab (1672-75). The alarming reports of the news-writers about the Guru's activities in the Panjab now made Aurangzeb furious.

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Guru Tegh Bahadur was summoned to Delhi and was given the choice to accept Islam or suffer death as it had been given to his grandfather, Arjan Dev, seventy years before by Aurangzeb's grandfather, Jahangir. Tegh Bahadur's reaction was the same as that of his grandsire. He preferred to give up his head rather than his faith. He was executed on November 11th, 1675. His martyrdom made the latent feelings of ill will of the Sikh community towards the government come out into the open. And, as it happened, the next Guru of the Sikhs also proved to have been made of still sterner stuff. He resolved to overthrow the Mughal tyranny in the Panjab as the Marathas were doing in the Deccan under their leader, Shivaji. At the moment, however, the tender age of the Guru and considerations of policy of prudence obliged the Sikhs to refrain from showing their resentment in any active shape.

With a number of devoted followers, Gobind Rai (as he was then known) retired to a comparatively secure place in the Shiwalik hills, where he stayed for well over twenty years preparing himself and his men for the mighty task which he had resolved to carry out. At the end of this period of preparation Guru Gobind Singh created his militant *Khalsa* in April, 1699, and launched his struggle for independence.

The time chosen by the Guru was opportune. The emperor was entangled in the worst phase of his struggle with the Marathas, had grown very old (he was eighty-one) and was worn out by the hardships of camp life. Guru Gobind Singh had the advantage of age and physical fitness. He was thirty-three years of age with his mental and physical faculties in their full vigour. The administration in northern India and particularly in the remote hilly districts of the Panjab, where the Guru resided, had been thrown completely out of gear owing to the absence of the emperor and his first rate officers since the mid eighties. Guru Gobind Singh's military career extended over eight years. Although he did not gain much by way of success over the Mughal troops in the open struggle, yet in the eyes of his followers he was able to smash in to pieces the awe and majesty of the Mughal government. Every member of the Khalsa Panth came to believe that he was the elect of God, that ultimate victory would be his and that he was more than a match for a Mughal soldier or Sardar.

The year 1708 saw the demise of this soldier saint and also the end of spiritual succession to Nanak's pontifical seat. For the secular leadership of the Khalsa and for completing the political work which he had left unfinished, Guru Gobind Singh had nominated one Banda Bairagi as

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his successor and this Rajput recluse fully justified his selection.[1]

Having accepted his commission from Guru Gobind Singh, Banda came to the Panjab and collected thousands of Sikhs from all parts of the province to fight under his banner. The circumstances were favourable to him. The emperor Bahadur Shah (Aurangzeb had died in February, 1707) was still busy in the far south settling affairs with his brother, Kam Bakhsh and with the Marathas and, then, restoring peace in Rajputana. Taking advantage of these, Banda directed his first attack on the town of Sirhind. Wazir Khan, the Faujdar of this sub-province, came out with a large and well-equipped army to oppose the Sikhs and a very hotly contested action was fought (May, 1710) in which the Sikhs fought with the spirit of crusaders and Banda himself, like a true Rajput, fought in the fore-front of his army. Wazir Khan was killed, the city was given over to plunder and the infuriated Khalsa ruthlessly massacred the Muslim population.[2] The whole province from Karnal to Ludhiana yielding an annual revenue of thirty-six lakhs of rupees came into Banda's possession. The Muslim officers of the late government were turned out and Sikh collectors were appointed in their places. Later on, when the Jullundur doab and again in 1715, when Kalanaur, Batala and Gurdaspur fell into his hands, Banda replaced the Mughal officers by the Sikhs. To complete the marks of sovereignty, this sagacious sadhu-soldier struck a new coin which bore the names of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh and also replaced the official Mughal seal by a new seal of the Khalsa Panth for use on state documents.

Banda's victories exasperated the Mughal emperor who ordered his governor of the Panjab to set out in pursuit of the Sikhs in right earnest. After a severe fighting of some eight months, Banda and about a thousand of his followers were taken prisoners and put to death with all sorts of torture which brutality could invent (June, 1716).

With the death of Banda, the first phase in Sikh history may be said to have come to a close. At the beginning of this period of one and three quarters of a century, Babar and Nanak had been brought on the stage of Indian history by a set of circumstances which were not of their own making. But the end of this period saw Gobind Singh and Aurangzeb

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1. Banda's original name was Lachhman Dev. He was a Rajput by birth and, while quite a youth, had renounced the world and became a Sadhu or ascetic. He left the Panjab and settled at Nander on the banks of the Godavari. He met Guru Gobind Singh at Nander and the latter appealed to him by his Rajput descent to take up the work of national liberation.

2. It was at Sirhind and by Wazir Khan's order that the two younger sons of Guru Gobind Singh had been bricked up alive on their refusing to embrace Islam.

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come into conflict over matters which were definitely of their own seeking.

The third set of events, which come so very near each other in point of time, comprises (i) the occupation of the Panjab by Ahmad Shah Abdali, (ii) the formation of the Dal Khalsa and (iii) the disappearance of the Mughals from the stage of the Panjab politics. All these came about within the period of four years from 1748 to 1752. The decline of the Mughals began in the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign and the death of that monarch in 1707 hastened the process. Within eleven years the Marathas extorted from Aurangzeb's successor the right of sovereignty in their home land of Maharashtra. This easy obtainment of Swaraj by the Peshwa (A. D. 1719) stands in strange contrast to that 'stake-all' effort which Aurangzeb had made for twenty years to crush the very existence of the Maratha race. In the next four years we see some of the top-most officials of the empire leaving the court of Delhi in disgust. Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk went away to his subedari of the Deccan and Saadat Khan retired to Oudh giving a free hand to the king's eunuchs and concubines to manage the affairs at the court and the palace as they liked. Nadir Shah's invasion (1739) exposed the hollowness of the empire to the view of the rest of the country and also gave further impetus to the process of disintegration. So long as the Shah stayed in Delhi (for well over 50 days) the *khutba* was read in his name as if the Mughal emperor did not exist or had abdicated his authority. On his departure, the Persian invader relieved the imperial *toshakhanas* and *khazanas* of their accumulated wealth of generations including the Koh-i-Nur and the Peacock Throne, the two unique and cherished possessions of the Mughal emperors. He also made the emperor part with his possession of the provinces of Sindh, Kashmir and the West Panjab up to Attock. Ahmad Shah Abdali, who followed Nadir nine years later (January 1748), got his claim acknowledged and confirmed over this territory and, besides, over another four parganas of the Panjab east of the Attock. Abdali's two succeeding invasions in December, 1748, and January, 1752, brought him the possession of the whole Panjab. Thus within four years of the opening compaign of Abdali, the whole scene in the Panjab changed : the Mughal government was made to exit, the Mughal-Sikh conflict ended and the Afghan-Sikh stuggle commenced.

The transfer of the province from the Mughals to the Pathans presented a fresh problem to the Sikhs. They had undergone innumerable sufferings during their century-old conflict with the Mughals. And now, when their power was fast declining and the Khalsa had reasonable opportunity to establish themselves as an independent political power in

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their home land, they found themselves face to face with a stranger and a sterner foe. But they did not lose heart. On the other hand they prepared themselves to stake their all on it. Indeed, they were now better equipped for the fray than they had been at any previous stage in their history. And it happened this wise. After the execution of Banda, the Sikhs had been left without a secular or spiritual leader, who would keep them together. The government of the day turned this helplessness of the community to their own advantage. A series of repressive measures were adopted to crush the Sikhs and by the orders of the emperors the whole administrative machinery of the Panjab was set in active motion. From the village chowkidar to the faujdar of the subah all officials were instructed to see that no one gave shelter to a Sikh. The work was carried out so thoroughly that "the name of a sicque no longer existed in the Mughal dominion. Those who still adhered to the tenets of Nanak," writes Forster, "either fled away into the mountains at the head of the Panjab, or cut off their hair and exteriorly renounced the profession of their religion." The number of those who chose to leave their homes and lead a homeless life, another reliable source tells us, touched only the small figure of 2000 men. But thanks to the spirit which Guru Gobind Singh had infused into some of his followers, these two thousand brave sons of the Panth kept the torch of freedom burning through wind and gale, through rain and storm. They were hunted from place to place by the *gashti fauj* or the moving columns of light cavalry raised specially for this purpose by the Nazim of the Panjab. But unshaken in their resolution, these volunteers in the cause of freedom kept on desultory warfare with their pursuers. They were divided into small bands of ten and twenty, which rendered their movements much easier and quicker. They would prowl about on the high ways and vanish at the sight of Mughal horse, but would again sally out, lay waste the country, loot the government treasuries and bolt away. Two score of years rolled by when at the end of this period the day of retribution came for the Khalsa. Nadir Shah invaded India in 1739 and threw the province of the Panjab in to utter confusion. Young and old, *jathedar* and *sowar*, moved from their hide-outs, came into the open plain country and embarked upon their pillaging excursions. Such a state of things is always tempting to the bold and courageous and ranks of the Khalsa began to swell. As many as sixty five *jathedars* or group leaders appeared on the scene at the turn of the first half of the century. They held consultations and considered their future course of action. Pillaging and marauding was not their sole objective. Their Guru had predicted the *khalsa raj* for them. Here was the opportunity. The more talented of the group leaders realised this fact

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and agreed to pool their resources for the benefit of national service. On the day of the Baisakhi festival (April, 1748) was created the Dal Khalsa or the national army of the Panth. This combined strength of the Khalsa was soon called upon to measure swords with Abdali who had forestalled the Sikhs by wresting the Panjab from the tottering hands of the Mughal ruler. But the Khalsa was not prepared to submit to the new yoke. They could not be unaware of the fact that it was an unequal struggle in which they were going to plunge. They had very limited resources in men, money and material. Their fighting men had no training and they had no money to buy the munitions of war. The enemy had the advantage of having in his service a very large number of trained troops equipped with guns and other superior weapons of war. Abdali himself was a great soldier and general. Nadir Shah used to say about him that he had not come across another officer of Ahmad Shah's calibre in the whole of his empire. Yet we see that at the end of the two decades over which this struggle had extended the Sikhs came out triumphant. Among other reasons which accounted for the success of the Sikhs the principal one, I believe, was that they would always remain on the defensive and would also avoid a pitched battle with the adversary. The experience gained during the period of twenty years' exile had not been lost on them. They had pulled through this period with success by following the hit and hide method of fighting and by resorting to several other similar devices and subterfuges. They continued to employ the guerilla tactics which they had developed to perfection and in which they far excelled the heavy mounted troopers of central Asia. Speaking of their method of fighting, one of the officers of Abdali, who took part in several skirmishes which the Afghans had to fight with the Sikhs during their march between the Sutlej and Beas in 1765, writes: "They (the Sikhs) first began to harass the flanks of our army thus considerably impeding our movements, so much so that in spite of our enthusiasm to come face to face with these infidels, we took no less than seven days to traverse a small distance of fifty miles.....Later, when we succeeded in forcing them to fight a pitched action, they adopted their usual tactics of enticing portions of our troops to leave their place of formation and move forward to overpower them in their feign retreat. These dogs are so perfect in this art of duping that they would continue to retreat for some distance and as soon as our men were separated from the main army and were out of the reach of immediate reinforcement, they would turn back and like lightning fall upon their pursuers and cut them to pieces." The author of the *Jangnama* also bestows words of extreme eulogy and admiration on the Sikhs for their bravery, courage and high moral sense. "Whosoever

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wishes to learn the art of fighting must learn it from the Sikhs; for they fearlessly advance towards the enemy and are engaged with him in action yet they return from the field quite safe and alive."[1]

By following this strategy of guerrilla warfare, which they had developed almost to perfection, the Sikhs seldom gave an opportunity to the Afghans to utilise their advantages of superior numbers and equipment. The one occasion and probably the only one, on which the Dal Khalsa was taken unawares and brought to bay by Ahmad Shah Abdali, was early in February, 1762, and, indeed, he wreaked his vengeance on them by destroying nearly half of their strength in one action. The occasion is still known as *ghalughara* or the great holocaust in Sikh history. Abdali happened to be in Lahore in January, 1762, when his scouts brought the news that some forty to fifty thousand Sikhs were collected near the Kup Rahira east of Malerkotla. This redoubtable Afghan general at once got ready and performed one of his most notable feats of journey. By forced marches, he traversed a distance of 150 miles with an army estimated at 30,000 men within the incredibly short time of thirty-six hours only. The Sikhs were taken by surprise and were surrounded on three sides by Abdali's select troops. The divisions of the Dal were put in the formation of a square and began to move towards the desert of Barnala. They 'moved on fighting and fought on moving' for a distance of about eighteen miles. But before they could reach Barnala, their cordon was pierced through by the Afghans and as the result of a wholesale massacre, some fifteen to twenty thousand Sikhs lost their lives. During the night, however, the Sikhs slipped away into the neighbouring desert. The Afghan losses, though not so great as those of the Sikhs, were considerable to make Abdali think twice before deciding to pursue them further. He was glad to get rid of them for the time being.

A short article like this is not expected to refer to all the raids and invasions of Abdali and the struggle put up by the Sikhs to secure the possession of the Panjab. Suffice it to say that at the end of two decades Abdali did realise that the Sikhs were a power to be reckoned with and that he would not be able to maintain his authority without their co-operation. He, therefore, decided to adopt a policy of reconciliation and, in March, 1765. appointed local non-Muslim chiefs as his deputies in

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1. *Jangnama* by Qazi Nur Mohammad edited by Dr. Ganda Singh pp. 174-75.
فن جنگ گر خواهی آموختن- از ایشاں بیاموز اے تیغ زن- کہ در پیش دشمن شدن
مرد وار- سلامت بلا رفتن از کار زار-

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Sirhind, Jullundur and Lahore on nominal promise of a tribute. Raja Ala Singh of Patiala was nominated as governor of Sirhind, Raja Ghamand Chand Katoch of Jullundur and Diwan Kabali Mal of Lahore.

But the Shah had hardly turned his back on India when the Sikhs reappearsed, turned out Kabali Mal and seized Lahore. When the news reached him, Abdali was still near Attock, but as the traditional account goes he felt helpless and is said to have remarked : *Azīn qaum būe bādshāhī mi āyad* (the manner of these people smacks of royalty). What he said was not far from truth. The Sikhs had been fighting for their political emancipation first against the Mughals and then against the Pathans and they won it at last and established a sovereign state of their own in the Panjab.

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The Ancient Town of Vairāṭa

By

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[After identifying the ancient town of Vairātanagara, sometimes also known as Matsyanagara and later on named Virāṭ with modern Bairāṭ (Jaipur, Rajasthan) and equating the territory Vairāṭ or Matsyadeśa of which the town formed the capital with erstwhile state of Alwar and some portions of Jaipur and Bharatpur, the author has given an interesting account of the history of the town. The incidents connected with the banishment of the Pandava brothers during the thirteenth year of their exile, which they passed incognito at Vairātyanagara, have especially been described in some detail. The town remained deserted for many centuries until it was repeopled most probably during Akbar's reign. Mention has also been made of the ancient archaeological remains excavated from the site including the famous Bhabru Rock Edict of Asoka.—*Ed.*]

Name, location and extent.

In ancient times Vairāṭa, otherwise known as Pāryātra, was the Matsyadeśa situated in the territory of Jaipur. It was known to the Chinese as *Po-li-ye-to-lo.* The earliest historical mention of Vairāṭa is found in the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who visited India in 634 A.D.[1] The Matsyadeśa included the whole of the modern territory of Alwar with a portion of Bharatpur.[2] Vairāṭa or Virāṭ was situated some 220 miles south of Sarhind. It stood at a distance of 500 li or 83⅔ miles to the west of Mathurā and about 800 li or 133⅓ miles to the south-west of the kingdom of *She-to-tu-lo.* The Matsya country mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* (VII, 18, 6),[3] lay to the south or south-west of Indraprastha and to the south of Śūrasena. The Matsya country, which formed a part of the *Brahmarṣideśa* according to Manu, included what were formerly the eastern half of the state of Patiala and of the Delhi division of the Punjab and Alwar state, and the adjacent territory in Rajputana, the region lying between the Ganges and Jumna and the Mathurā district in the United Provinces.[4] In this land of the holy sages (*Brahmarṣis*) the whole of the country lying in ancient times between the Arāvalli hills of Alwar and the river Jumna, was divided between Matsya on the west, Śūrasena on the

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1. Julien's *Hiouen Thsang*, II, p. 206.
2. *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, Ch. 30 ; *ASI.*, Vol. II, 244.
3. *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, 1, 2, 9 ; *Bibliotheca Indica Series.*
4. Rapson, *Ancient India*, pp. 50-51.

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east and Daśārṇa on the south and south-east border. The Matsya dominion then included the whole of the present Alwar territory not only with a portion of Bharatpur, but also of Jaipur Vairāṭ and Māchārī were both in the Matsyadeśa.[1] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is right in pointing out that Matsya originally included parts of Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur and it was the kingdom of king Virāṭa, whose capital has been identified with Bairāṭ in the Jaipur state.[2] Pargiter and Cunningham also hold the view that Matsya was the country west of Agra and north of the river Chambal, that is, the whole of Alwar with portions of Jaipur and Bharatpur.[3] Cunningham says that Vairāṭa may have included the greater part of the present state of Jaipur. Its precise boundaries cannot be determined, but they may be fixed approximately as extending on the north from Jhunjun to Koṭ Kasim, 70 miles ; on the west from Jhunjun to Ajmere, 120 miles ; on the south from Ajmere to the junction of Banas and Chambal, 150 miles ; and on the east from the junction to Koṭ Kasim, 150 miles or altogether 490 miles.[4]

Cunningham tells us on the authority of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang that in the 7th century A.D. the kingdom of Vairāṭa was 3000 li or 500 miles in circuit.[5]

Importance.

Vairāṭa was famous for Aśoka's Edict known as the Bhābrū Edict discovered here. The Bhābrū Edict is the only edict which is found inscribed on a stone slab (*sīlāphalaka*) as distinguished from a stone pillar (*sīlā-thambha*).[6] It is the edict which conclusively proves Aśoka's faith in the Buddhist religion and his consequent exhortation to monks and nuns and to laymen and laywomen to listen to and study seven select passages from the Buddhist scriptures for which he himself felt a special preference as being most conducive to the continued prosperity of the law of piety promulgated by the Buddha.[7] V. A. Smith surmises that Aśoka may have been residing at one of the Bairāṭ monasteries, when he caused this unique document to be prepared.[8]

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1. Cunningham, *RASI.*, Vol. 20, p. 2.
2. *Carmichæl Lectures*, 1918, p. 53.
3. Pargiter, *Markaṇḍeyap*. Tr., p. 307 f. n. ; Cunningham, *ASR*, II, p. 242.
4. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, 1924, pp. 344-45.
5. *AGI.*, pp. 344-45.
6. *Iyaṃ dhammalibi ata athi sīlā-thaṃbhāni vā sīlāphalakāni vā tata kaṭaviyā ena esa cila-ṭhitike siyā.*
7. *Indian Culture*, I, pp. 130 ff.
8. *Early History of India*, 4th Ed , p. 176.

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The Matsyas, who were the inhabitants of the region identical with the kingdom of King Virāṭa of the *Mahābhārata*, were a very ancient people.[1] The people of Virāṭa were famous for their valour. Hence Manu directs that the van of an army should be composed of men of Matsya or Virāṭa.[2] Cunningham supports the view that the Matsya people were brave and bold and their king, who was of the race of *Fei-she*, (either a *Vaiśya* or a *Bais Rajput*), was famous for his courage and skill in war.[3] The kingdom of Vairāṭa was famous for its sheep and oxen according to Hiuen Tsang. It produced few fruits or flowers. The soil was generally good and the trees especially the tamarinds were very fine and in plenty.[4] In the epic times the Matsyas were very rich in the wealth of cows which were much in demand for the performance of lengthy and elaborate sacrifices.

Capital of the Matsya country.

The capital of the Matsya country was Virāṭanagara as mentioned in the Virāṭaparva of the *Mahābhārata* (IV. 6, 35 ; IV. 13. 3). Occasionally it was called Matsyanagara and also sometimes Matsyasyanagara.[5] Virāṭanagar afterwards became known as Vairāṭa,[6] which was the royal seat of the epic king Virāṭa, the friend of the Pāṇḍavas. According to Cunningham it was 14 or 15 li or 2½ miles in circuit corresponding almost exactly with the site of the ancient mound on which the present town is built.[7]

Some hold that Upaplavya was one of the capitals of the Matsyas.[8] It does not appear to have been a capital of the Matsyas as mentioned in the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. I, p. 316), but only one of the towns in the Matsya country. Upaplavya or Upaplava mentioned in the Śalyaparva of the *Mahābhārata* (XXXVI, 1973-76) was one and a half or two days' journey by chariot from Hastināpura (Udyogaparva, lxxxiii, 3010-17 ; lxxxv, 3040 and lxxxv, III, 3101). According to the *Mahābhārata* the five Pāṇḍavas on completion of the 13th year of their exile reached

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1. *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, XIII, 5, 4, 9 ; *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*, 1, 2, 9 ; *Kauśitakī Upaniṣad*, IV, 1.
2. Cunningham, *AGI.*, p. 341 ; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 179 f. n.
3. Cunningham, *AGI.*, p. 343.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 342.
5. *Mbh.*, IV, 13. I ; 14. 1.
6. *Indian Antiquary*, V. 179.
7. *AGI.*, p. 343.
8. *CHI.*, Vol. I, p. 316.

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Upaplavya of Virāṭa (IV. 72. 14 *tatastrayodaśe varṣe nivritte Pañca-pāṇḍavāḥ upaplavyaṃ Virāṭasya samapadyanta sarvaśaḥ*). Sañjaya, the messenger of the Kurus, was sent to Upaplavya by Dhritarāṣṭra.[1] Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator on the *Mahābhārata* (IV. 72. 14), explains that Upaplavya was the name of another (or some) city near Virāṭanagara (*upaplavyaṃ Virāṭanagarasamipastha nagarāntaraṃ*).

Present town of Vairāṭa.

The present town of Vairāṭa, otherwise spelt as Bairat, is situated in the midst of a circular valley surrounded by low bare red-hills which have all along been famous for their copper mines. It is 105 miles to the south-west of Delhi and 41 miles to the north of Jaipur. It is situated on a mound of ruins about 1 mile in length by half a mile in breadth or upwards of 2½ miles in circuit of which the present town does not occupy more than one-fourth. The old city of Vairāṭanagara was deserted for several centuries until it was repeopled about 350 years ago, most probably during the reign of Akbar. Abul Fazl in his *Aīn-i-Akbarī* mentions Virāṭanagara as possessing very profitable copper mines.[2]

Dvaitavana lake and Dvaitavana forest.

A Matsya king Dhvasan Dvaitavana appears to have given his name to a lake, Dvaitavana.[3] We find mention of an extensive forest named Dvaitavana in the *Mahābhārata* (III, 24-25), where the Pāṇḍavas passed a large portion of their exile. In the Virāṭaparva of the *Mahābhārata* (IV. 5, 4-5) we are told that the Pāṇḍavas went to the Matsya capital Virāṭa from the lake Dvaitavana, leaving the Daśārṇas to the south and the Pañcālas to the north, passing through the countries of the Yakrillomas and Śūrasenas and entering the Matsya dominion from the forest. The lake Dvaitavana is mentioned in the Virāṭaparva (III, 24) as existing in the Dvaitavana forest, which was supposed to be situated around the Sarasvatī and this lake appears to have been close to the Sarasvatī (III. 77).[4] Evidently both the lake and the forest were named after Dhvasan Daitavana and were included in the Matsya dominion in early times. It appears from the *Mahābāhrata* account that the forest was outside the Matsya country, though not very far from it.

The Pāṇḍavas living in disguise in Virāṭanagara.

Virāṭa, king of Matsya, was one of the kings who reigned in the

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1. *Mahābhārata*, V. 22. 1.
2. Cunningham, *AGI.*, p. 342.
3. *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, XIII, 5, 4, 9.
4. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśastra*, Vol. IV, 748.

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time of the Pāṇḍavas.[1] In the Virāṭaparva of the *Mahābhārata* (Chs. I and V) we read that the Pāṇḍavas passed through the Śūrasena country on their way to Virāṭanagara from the Dvaitavana forest, where they had sojourned during their exile. The Pāṇḍavas due to dishonest tricks on the part of Śakuni lost every thing and in the end it was arranged that they should go into banishment for twelve years and remain *incognito* for the thirteenth year, after which they might return and regain their kingdom. They passed their period of banishment in the forest and remained in disguise for the thirteenth year at the court of king Virāṭa of the Matsyas. Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers were honoured by the Matsya king and his people, who were grateful to them for checking the predatory excursions of the Trigarttas and the Kurus against their cattle. The bond with the Matsyas was further cemented by the marriage of Virāṭas' daughter named Uttarā with Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna.

Yudhiṣṭhira received the divine blessing that he with his brothers and Draupadī would be able to live in Virāṭanagara *incognito*, wholly undetected by the Kurus and the people of that place.[2]

After giving up their forest life, the sons of Pāṇḍu, endowed with great strength, equipped with bows and swords, looking pale, and wearing beards, went through Yakrilloma and Śūrasena, leaving the country of the Pañcālas on the south and the Daśārṇa country on the north, dwelling in forest and hill-forts and killing lions, tigers and boars, they then entered the kingdom of Matsya, introducing themselves as hunters (*lubdhā bruvāṇā*).[3] Yudhiṣṭhira introduced himself as a former friend of Yudhiṣṭhira. He was a Brahmin named Vaiyāghrapadya, an expert in casting dice and known by the name of Kaṅka.[4]

The king Virāṭa accepted him as his friend, allowed him to use a chariot similar to his, and gave him plenty of clothes, food and drink. There was no fear from the king Virāṭa.[5]

Bhīma, dressed in a black garment, entered the kingdom of Matsya in the guise of a cook, with the strength of the lord of mountains and

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1. *Mahābhārata*, IV, 5, 245-47 ; 68, 2164 ; Pargiter; *AIHT.*, p. 119.

2. *Mbh.*, Virāṭaparva, Ch. VI, v. 35 *Matprasādācca vaḥ sarvān Virāṭanagare sthitān* | *na prajñāsyanti Kuravo narā vā tannivāsinaḥ* ||

3. *Mbh.* Virāṭaparva, Ch. V. 3-5.

4. *Ibid.*, *Vangavāsī Ed.* VII, v. 12 *Yudhiṣṭhirasyāsamahaṃ purā sakhā Vaiyāghrapadyāḥ punarasmi vipraḥ* | *Akṣāṇ prayoktuṃ kuśalosmi devita kaṅketi nāmnāsmi Virāṭa viśrutaḥ* ||

5. *Ibid.*, Ch. VII, vs. 16-17. *Samānayānobhavitāsi me sakhā* | *prabhūtavastro bahupānabhojanaḥ.....na te bhayaṃ vidyati sannidhau mama* ||

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stood before the king of Matsya with great splendour.[1] Bhīma introduced himself as an expert cook named Ballava. He desired to be appointed as a cook. His curry had been tasted by king Yudhiṣṭhira. He was also a wrestler. None was equal to him in strength. He promised to entertain the king by fighting with elephants and lions.[2] He was appointed a cook by king Virāṭa.[3]

Draupadī, dressed in a very dirty piece of cloth as Sairindhrī, roamed about hither and thither like one in a miserable plight.[4] She knew how to dress the hair and to prepare unguent properly. She also knew how to make good garlands of *mallikā, padma* and *campakā* flowers.[5]

Sahadeva introduced himself as a Vaiśya named Ariṣṭanemi, who served as an enumerator of the cows of the best of the Kuru race. He was employed as an enumerator of the cows under Yudhiṣṭhira under the name of Tantipāla. He took charge of the beasts in the Virāṭa country.[6]

Arjuṇa, a person of colossal form (*Vrihatpumān*) and of long arm (*dīrghabāhu*), wearing the ornaments of a female, came to Virāṭa.[7] He was dressed like one of the neuter sex, but the king Virāṭa could not believe that such a person could be of the neuter sex.[8] Arjuna said, "I sing, dance and play on musical instruments. I am skilled in dancing and singing (*bhadrosmi nritye kuśalosmi gīte*). I shall be the dancing master of the princess Uttarā.[9] Know me to be Vrihannala, a son or daughter abandoned by parents."[10] Arjuna was appointed by the king as he desired.[11]

Another mighty son of Pāṇḍu, named Nakula, hastily approached king Virāṭa.[12] Virāṭa wanted to know wherefrom he came and the art in

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1. *Ibid.*, Ch. VIII, v. 2 *Sa sūdarūpaḥ parameṇa varcasā sukriṣṇavāsā girirājasāravāṃstaṃ Matsyarājaṃ samupetya tasthivān.*

2. *Ibid.*, Ch. VIII, vs. 7, 9-10, *Sūdosmi narendra Ballavo.....te jānāmi sūpān prathamaṃ na kevalān । Āsvāditā Yudhiṣṭhirenāpi nripeṇa.....valena tulyas'ca na vidyate mayā niyuddhas'īlas' ca sadaiva pārthiva । Gajais'ca siṃhais'ca samīyivānahaṃ sadā kariṣyāmi tavānaghapriyaṃ.*

3. *Ibid.*, Ch. VIII, v. 11.

4. *Ibid.*, Ch. IX, v. 2.

5. *Ibid.*, Ch. IX, v. 19.

6. *Ibid.*, Ch. X., vs. 5, 10.

7. *Mbh.*, Ch. XI, vs. 1-2.

8. *Ibid.*, Ch. XI, v. 7-*Naivaṃvidhāḥ klīvarūpā bhavanti kathancaneti pratibhāti me manaḥ.*

9. *Ibid.*, Ch. XI, v. 8.

10. *Ibid.*, XI, v. 9-*Sutaṃ sutāṃ vā pitrimatrivarjjitāṃ.*

11. *Ibid.*, XI, v. 10.

12. *Ibid.*, Virāṭaparva, Ch. XII, v. 1.

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which he was proficient.[1] Nakula said, "I was formerly appointed a keeper of the horses of king Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of the five sons of Pāṇḍu. I know the nature of horses and the art of breaking them in. I know how to correct wicked horses and how to treat all kinds of horses. No animal falls ill under my care. I was called by the people by the name of Granthika and Yudhiṣṭhira also called me by this name.[2] Virāṭa then gave him the charge of all his horses.[3]

Killing of Kīcaka.

Kīcaka, the commander of the forces of king Virāṭa of Matsya, saw Draupadī almost at the end of the period of exile of the Pāṇḍavas.[4] Being much under the influence of Cupid he desired to win Draupdī.[5] After consulting his sister queen Sudeṣṇā, he approached Draupadī and expressed his love towards her.[6] Kīcaka said that he would remain as a slave to her and be ever obedient.[7] Draupadī said, "I am the wife of others. Your conduct is unworthy of you. Let not your heart be inclined to adultery."[8] Kīcaka then went to queen Sudeṣṇa to devise a plan by which Draupadī might accept him.[9] Kīcaka caught hold of Draupadī who, trembling in wrath, hurled him hard on the ground. Having thus thrown Kīcaka down on the ground, while seized by him, Draupadī ran to the court, where king Yudhiṣṭhira was, to seek protection.[10] As arranged Kīcaka arrived at the dancing-hall at the appointed hour with a view to meeting Draupadī.[11] Bhīma went there hidden at night and sat expecting Kīcaka.[12] Bhīma threw Kicaka down with great force in the room.[13] He then struck with his knees the waist of Kīcaka whose limbs had been broken in to pieces and whose eye lids were closed. Bhīma killed him like one killing a beast. By killing this wretch Bhīma was freed from the

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1. *Ibid.*, XII, v. 5. *prabruhi s'ilpaṃ tava vidyate ca yat.*
2. *Ibid.*, Ch. XII, vs. 6-8-*Janastu mamāha sa cāpi Pāṇḍavo Yudhiṣṭhiro Granthikameva nāmatah.*
3. *Ibid.*, Ch. XII, v. 9.
4. *Ibid.*, Virāṭaparva, XIV, 4.
5. *Ibid.*, XIV, v. 5-*Kīcakaḥ kāmayāmāsa kāmavāṇaprapīḍitaḥ.*
6. *Mbh.*, XIV, v. 11.
7. *Ibid.*, XIV, v. 34-*Dāsavat sthitaḥ.*
8. *Ibid.*, XIV, vs. 36-37.
9. *Ibid.*, XV, v. 2.
10. *Ibid.*, XVI, vs. 8-9—*Sabhāṃ s'araṇamāgacchat yatra rāja Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ.*
11. *Ibid.*, Ch. XXII, v. 39.
12. *Ibid.*, Ch. XXII, v. 38.
13. *Ibid.*, Ch. XXII, v. 63.

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debt he owed to his brother and was in peace, as he removed what was a thorn to Sairindhrī.[1]

Fight between the Matsya king, Virāṭa, and Suśarma, the king of the Trigarttas.

There was a battle fought between Virāṭa, the king of Matsya, and Suśarma,[2] the powerful king of the Trigarttas. The leading heroes of Matsya or Vairāṭa, who delightfully followed king Virāta, had eight thousand chariots, one thousand elephants and sixty thousand horses.[3] The combatants rushed on slaying each other ; there arose a thick cloud of dust in which nothing could be seen.[4] Cavalry fought with cavalry and infantry with infantry and the dust of the earth was laid by the flowing blood.[5] In the battle field the armies of both Suśarma, the king of the Trigarttas, and the king of Matsya could not recognise each other, as they were covered with dust (*rajasāvritaṃ.*)[6] Killing separately his two horses, his charioteer and the soldiers who protected him (Virāṭa) in the rear, the Trigarttas captured the king of Matsya alive and deprived him of his chariot (*viratham*).[7] At the request of Yudhiṣṭhira Bhīma released him.[8]

Marriage of Uttarā with Abhimanyu.

Yudhiṣṭhira consented to the matrimonial alliance between Matsya and Pārtha.[9] Yudhiṣṭhira accepted Uttarā, the daughter of king Virāṭa, as his daughter-in-law.[10] Dhanañjaya (Arjuṇa) also accepted the beautiful daughter of Virāṭa for his son, Abhimanyu, begotten on Subhadrā.[11] The marriage took place after the identity of the Pāṇḍavas had been disclosed. Virāṭa gave as dowry seven thousand fast horses, two hundred elephants and immense wealth.[12] The kings of Kāśī and Śaivya, who were the friends of Yudhiṣṭhira, attended the marriage ceremony, each accompanied by an

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1. *Ibid.*, Ch. XXII, vs. 77-79-*Śantiṃ labdhosmi paramāṃ hatvā Sairindhrikaṇṭakaṃ.*
2. *Ibid.*, Virāṭaparva, XXX, vs. 1-2.
3. *Ibid.*, Virāṭaparva, XXXI, vs. 33-34.
4. *Mbh.*, Virāṭaparva, XXXII, v. 6—*Udatiṣṭhadrajo bhaumaṃ na prajñāyata kiñcana.*
5. *Ibid.*, XXXII, 16—*sādibhiḥ sādināṃ cāpi padātīnāṃ padātibhiḥ । upaśamyadrajo bhaumaṃ rudhireṇa prāsarpata ॥*
6. *Ibid.*, XXXII, vs. 29-30.
7. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, v. 8.
8. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, vs. 12-13.
9. *Ibid.*, LXXII, v. 12—*Kuntīputro Yudhiṣṭhirah anvaśāsat sa samyogaṃ samaye Matsyapārthayoḥ.*
10. *Ibid.*, LXXII, v. 34—*snuṣāṃ tāṃ pratijagrāha Kuntīputro Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ.*
11. *Ibid.*, LXXII, v. 33— *tāṃ pratyagrihṇāt kaunteyaḥ sutasyārthe Dhananjayaḥ । Sanbhadrasyānavadyāngiṃ Virāṭatanayām tadā ॥*
12. *Ibid.*, LXXII, v. 36.

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akṣauhiṇī of soldiers. There came the mighty Yajñasena. Vāsudeva, Halāyudha, Kritavarman, Akrura, Indrasena and others. Many Vriṣṇi, Andhaka and Bhoja heroes were present in the ceremony.[1]

Ancient remains of Vairāṭa.

The ancient remains of Vairāṭa were visited by Cunningham in 1864-65 and by his assistant Carlleyle in 1871-72. They have left detailed accounts of what they saw and of the legends connected with the place.[2] Vairāṭa was visited by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar during the year 1909-10.[3] The guide book entitled *Archæological Remains and Excavations of Bairat* by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, C. I. E., M. A., published by the Department of Archaeology and Historical Research of the Jaipur State, is really very helpful in making us acquainted with the ancient remains of Vairāṭa. Vairāṭa contains a Jaina temple, which is situated in the neighbourhood of the *tahsil* and consists of a sanctum preceded by a spacious *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and surrounded by a broad circumambulatory passage on the other three sides. There is an oblong open courtyard surrounded by a high wall and a beautifully carved pillared portico in front of the entrance on the east. In the southern wall of the courtyard on the inside is built a large inscribed slab which was first noticed by Dr. Bhandarkar. The epigraph consists of 40 lines and is defaced in many places. The object of the inscription is to record that one Indrarāja, who was a Śrīmāla by caste and of the Rākmāṇa gotra, caused images to be made of three *Tīrthaṅkaras, i.e.*, a stone image of Pārśvanātha in the name of of Candraprabha in his own name and a third of Riṣabhadeva in the name of his father, a copper image of his brother Ajayarāja, and placed them along with an image of Vimalanātha, who is described as the principal pontiff, in a temple called Indravihāra or Mahodayaprāsāda, which he himself constructed at Vairāṭa at a great cost.

The hill known as Bījak-kī-pahāṛī or the inscription hill forms a conspicious object at the south-west corner of the valley of Vairāṭa. The hill is composed of enormous blocks of grey granite of a friable nature and with thick veins of felspar, which dissolves and causes the blocks to split in course of time. The hill is about three-fourths of a mile in circuit round its base. The top of the Bījak-kī-Pahāṛī affords a picturesque view of the entire valley of Vairāṭa with the Bhīmjī-kī-Duṅgrī hill and the

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1. *Ibid.*, *Virāṭaparva*, Ch. LXXII, vs. 16 ff.

2. *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vols. II and VI.

3. Vide *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1910.

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monuments around it on the north and a perfectly level plain which surrounds the lofty town on all sides.

The stone bearing the so-called Bhābrū Rock Edict was found by Captain Burt in 1840 and transferred to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, where it has been preserved since then. This stone is an irregularly shaped block of grey granite, measuring about 2 ft. in length, 2 ft. in width and 1½ ft. in thickness.

By excavating the ancient site of Vairāṭa many archæological remains of the Mauryan and immediately later period have been found. The principal monuments brought to light are numerous remnants of two Asokan pillars similar to the other known memorial pillars of that emperor, a temple of an entirely new type and a monastery erected by Aśoka himself. The best preserved portion of the monastery was that on the east side where a double row of six to seven cells has been found. Portable antiquities recovered from these cells included pottery jars of different shapes and ornamented with various patterns *e.g.*, *Triratna* on the wheel, *svastika*, iron nails etc. Some punch-marked coins of silver and some Greek and Indo-Greek silver coins have also been discovered. The discovery of a piece of cotton cloth throws interesting light on the kind of clothing used in the 1st century A. D. Among the portable antiquities found at the site mention may be made of a terracotta figurine of a dancing girl or *Yakṣī*, having no head and feet. The left hand rests on the hip, while the right arm is laid across the chest to support the left breast. The figure is almost naked. Similar figures are found on railing pillars of about the 1st century B. C. at Mathurā. The circular temple discovered at the site is found to be a most interesting structure contemporaneous with the Aśokan pillars. It was destroyed by a big fire. Daya Ram Sahni has pointed out that an interesting feature of the excavations at Vairāṭa is the total absence among the finds of anthropomorphic representations of the Buddha of any form or material, which is in full accord with the view that the Buddha image was not evolved until about the 2nd century A.D [1]

1. D. R. Sahni, *Archæological Remains and Excavations at Bairat*, 19 ff,

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Madame Bhikhaiji Rustam K. R. Cama

By
MAN MOHAN KAUR

[This article deals with the notable part played by Madame K. R. Cama in the struggle for India's emancipation. Leaving India in 1902, this unofficial ambassador visited the European countries and pleaded for justice to India. She was also the first to unfold the Indian National Flag in a foreign country. She exhorted Indians to rise above narrow communal considerations and to make sacrifices for the motherland. Undaunted by the trials and tributations to which she was subjected, she continued her activities and supplied the revolutionaries in India with literature and money from abroad.—*Ed.*]

Madame K. R. Cama, who played a notable part in India's struggle for freedom, is now little remembered in her own mother country mainly because she had to shift the centre of her activities to Europe in her early youth. She was an eye witness to the troubles and trials of her countrymen during the closing years of the nineteenth century and these left a lasting mark on her tender heart. The disastrous famine accompanied by the economic depression, the bubonic plague, the death sentence passed on Chaupekar brothers, who were arrested for the murder of two Englishmen, Rand and Lt. Ayerst, over and above the arrest of Lokmanya Tilak in 1895 on a charge of sedition and his conviction caused wide spread indignation throughout the country. Political discontent among the people was further accentuated by the imperialistic rule of Lord Curzon. His curtailment of the powers of the Calcutta Corporation, the Official Secrets Act, the officialization of the Universities and, finally, his partition of Bengal hit hard the aspirations of loyal India. "Even more galling to our sense of self-respect than his speech in Calcutta regarding our untruthfulness," writes Dr. P. Sitaramya, "was his sweeping charge that we Indians were, by our environment—our heritage and upbringing—unequal to the responsibilities of high offices under the British rule." Madam K. R. Cama arose to the occasion not only to contradict the statement, but also to prove that it was baseless and that the Indians were by no means unconscious of the loss of their political power.

Nine years before Allan Octavian Hume founded the Indian National Congress at Bombay, Madame Cama was born in a distinguished Parsi family of that great city. We have no details about her family history except that she was the daughter of one Sorabji Framji Patel. Her early education was completed in Bombay at the Alexandra Parsi Girls School. Then she devoted herself to learn some of the foreign languages which

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came in very handy in her later career. She was married to the son of K. Rustam Cama, a Parsi reformer. That is all we can gather from the contemporary records about her career in India.

She left India for Europe in 1902. She spent a year each in Germany, Scotland and Paris before she settled down in London. These wanderings were perhaps a prelude to her political career. By the time she was back in London in 1906, the seed of the Revolutionary Party had already been sown by patriots like Shyamji Krishna Verma. But it was left to Madame Cama to nourish this tender sapling into a mighty tree.

Madame Cama had already made up her mind to dedicate her life to the cause of her motherland and started the work in a very systematic manner. She took immediate steps to establish contacts with the nationalists of Ireland, Russia, Egypt and Germany. She was not unmindful of the handicaps of the extremists at home and forwarded to them revolvers concealed in toys ostensibly as Christmas presents.

When it was announced that the International Socialist Congress was to meet in Stutgrat (Germany) in August 1907, Madame Cama was quick to seize this opportunity to acquaint the cosmopolitan gathering with the prevailing conditions in India. Her speech on that memorable occasion dealt with the dumb millions of Hindustan, "who are undergoing terrible tyrannies under the English capitalist and British Government." She said that thirty-five million pounds were taken annually from India without any return and in consequence people in India died of poverty. At the end of the speech she unfolded the Indian National Flag, a tri-colour in green, yellow and red with the words 'Bande Mātram' on the middle band. Thus Madame Cama was the first Indian who unfolded the Indian National Flag in a foreign country before an international gathering. From now onwards she made it customary to unfurl the National Flag before addressing any meeting, because she said, "she was in the habit of speaking under this flag."

Immediately after this conference she left for America where she was to lanch a vigorous campaign to win the sympathy of the people of that great republic for her just and sacred cause. She was interviewed by the pressmen at New York. Questioned as to her aim, she boldly replied, "Swaraj and Self-government." She told the interviewers: "Starved and uneducated as we are, the past few years have shown an increase of millions of patriots We shall have liberty, fraternity and equality some day. We hope for freedom within ten years."

On 28 October, 1907, Madame Cama addressed the members of the Minerva Club at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York, and asked their

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help for political enfranchisement of India. She said, "The people here know about the conditions in Russia, but I do not think that they know any thing about the conditions in India under the English Government. Our best men are deported or sent to prison like criminals, and there they are flogged so that they have to go to the prison hospitals. We are peaceful, we do not want a bloody revolution, but we do want to teach the people their rights and throw off despotism." She toured the United States like a tireless soldier and addressed meetings at several places. She was the first Indian unofficial ambassador of the people of India to the United States.

In November, 1908, Madame Cama was back in London and addressed a gathering at India House. Her speech was printed in the form of a leaflet, copies of which were afterwards sent to India in large numbers. This leaflet was to become the manifesto of the revolutionary creed. She justified the use of violence and argued, "Why should we deplore the use of violence when our enemy drives us to it ? If we use force it is because we are forced to use force. Tyranny is tyranny and torture is torture wherever applied. Success justifies any action. Struggle for freedom calls for exceptional measures. Successful revolution against the foreign rule is patriotism." In a message to the youth of this country she said : "March forward, friends, and lead the helpless, dying, down-trodden children of motherland to the goal of swaraj in its right sense ! Let our motto be—we are all for India and for the Indian."

It may be pointed out here that Madame Cama was not a born revolutionary. While speaking in one of the India House meetings in 1908 she said : "Three years ago it was repugnant to me even to talk of violence as a subject of discussion, but owing to the heartlessness, the hypocrisy, and the rascality of the Liberals, that feeling is gone." Madame Cama was an apostle of unity. Whether she addressed the Muslims, the Hindus, the Christians or the Sikhs, her watchword was "to fasten the ties of brotherhood." She believed that "the relations between the countrymen should be firm and resolute without bringing in the question of religion." She preached the sermon of non-co-operation and exhorted the Indians not to accept any office, however high, under the British Government. They were to serve themselves, improve trade, industry and art and then the country would be their own.

By now Madame Cama's activities were widely known and the British government began to look upon her as a dangerous revolutionary, whose aim was to overthrow the British rule in India. The detectives were to follow her like the shadow. She wisely decided to move to Paris and left

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London in May, 1909. Here she associated with S. R. Rana, Shyamji Krishna Verma and other revolutionary leaders. Madame Cama interested herself chiefly in the task of preparing and forwarding to India seditious literature in the form of leaflets and in assisting the patriots with her advice and, what was probably more important, with her money. She was at this time the recognized leader of the revolutionary movement and was said to be regarded by the people as a reincarnation of the goddess Kali.

In 1907, when the renowned Indian journalist and revolutionary, Mr. B. C. Pal, editor of the Swaraja, was prosecuted for seditious writings, Madame Cama felt the need for having a paper of her own away from the clutches of the British government. Her dream materialised in 1909, when she shifted to Paris. To carry on the propaganda she started the well known monthly journal "The Bande Matram." This journal was supported by voluntary contribution and there was no fixed subscription. The notorious Press Act was imposed on India by the bureaucratic government in 1910. By virtue of this act hundreds of editors were sent to jail and the presses were closed down. Madame Cama was not to be disconcerted by this high-handed measure. She encouraged her countrymen and wrote in March, 1910, in Vol. I of her journal that the Press Act was a confession of defeat on the part of the Indian government and a tribute to the efficiency of the revolutionary party. It was emphasised that the act would not affect the future of the cause, since revolutionary journals and books were printed abroad. She added, "We must recognize that importation of revolutionary literature in to India from foreign countries is the sheet anchor of the party" and that "the centre of gravity of political work has shifted from Calcutta, Poona and Lahore to Paris, Geneva, Berlin, London and New York."

In another article in 1911, Madame Cama appealed to the Indians in Europe. She advised them to make the best of their stay in the west by taking all kinds of physical training and to "learn to shoot straight because the day is not far when coming into the inheritance of Swaraj and Swadesh you will be called upon to shoot the English out of the land which we all love so passionately." Copies of this journal found their way to America, Egypt and many parts of Europe and India. At one time not less than 426 copies were intercepted at the Oxford post office.

Madame Cama was so popular in Socialist circles in Paris that when V. D. Savarkar's arrest and recapture became known, she used her influence with such effect that the 'Affair Savarkar' was at once taken up in the Socialist Paper. Madame' Cama engaged Socialist 'avocat', Jean Longueat, to watch the proceedings of the Hague Tribunal on Savarkar's behalf and to represent his interest there,

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The British government was alarmed and the Governor General issued orders for the interception of all Mrs. Cama's mail. A thorough check was to be made on all the sea ports. But Mrs. Cama was not to be defeated by these tactics ; her leaflets and parcels reached India via Pondicherry.

The British government employed another device to put a check on her activities in 1910 by depriving her of material resources. She was declared an absconder from justice under section 88 of the Criminal Procedure Code on non-execution of warrants and her property worth Rs. one lakh was attached.

The cancellation of the partition of Bengal and the outbreak of the First World War resulted in considerable decrease in the activities of the revolutionaries. The French government also yielded to the pressure from the British government. On November, 1914, she was forced to stop her seditious activities and to report to the police once a week. She wanted to visit the war prisoners at Geneva, but the French government turned down her request.

Undaunted Madame Cama continued her work in the face of all these difficulties till the toil of years rendered her invalid. Pandit Jwahar Lal Nehru, who paid her a visit during his European tour in 1926, wrote in his *Autobiography*, "We saw Madame Cama rather fierce and terrifying as she came up to you and peered into your face and pointing at you asked abruptly who you were. The answer made no difference (probably she was too deaf to hear it) for she formed her own impressions and stuck to them, despite facts to the contrary."

This is perhaps the last eye-witness account we have of that brave lady who sacrifised her all in the service of her motherland and spent practically the whole of her life in exile in far off lands.[1]

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1. Home Department, Political Branch, Proceedings Nos. 133-135 of June, 1910 (Confidential) ; Proceedings No. 18 of January, 1911, (confidential) ; Proceedings No. 1 of July, 1913, (confidential) ; Jwaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography* (1935). p. 111 , A. R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, p. 299.

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The Āndhra-Śātavāhana Chronology

By

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[After a thorough examination of the Purāṇic evidence and the view-points of various authorities such as Rapson, Bhandārkar and others, the author has tried to establish the correct chronology of the Āndhra-Śātavāhana dynasty. He has come to the conclusion that Simuka founded the dynasty in 271 B.C. and that it was not Simuka but one of his descendants, Pulomavi I, who slew Susarma, the last Kāṇva king. —*Ed.*]

The Āndhras have been always controversial, in the sense that nothing about them is accepted without question. Their achievements are disputed and their identity with the Śātavāhanas is doubted.[1] For the present enquiry, however, we assume that the Āndhra kings of the Purāṇas are the same as the Śātavāhanas of the inscriptions. But who founded their dynasty and when ? How long did their rule last ? These and other questions may sound simple. But the answers they evoke are many and conflicting. The information on which such answers are based is more or less the same. The difference is more of interpretation.

Purāṇic tradition refers to the dynastic succession in Magadha and mentions that the Mauryas, the Śungas and the Kāṇvas preceded* the advent of the Āndhra kings there. Political assassination put an end to the Maurya and the Śunga rule, while an Āndhra invasion accounted for the overthrow of the Kāṇvas. Five of the major eighteen Purāṇas, viz., the Matsya, the Vāyu, the Viṣṇu, the Bhāgavata and the Brahmāṇḍa, supply us the dynastic lists of kings, the duration of each dynasty and even the names of the princes. The Matsya and the Vāyu furnish, in addition, the number of years for which each prince reigned.

And yet the Purāṇas have been but incomplete guides for seekers after Āndhra chronology. Their versions differ and within the same Purāṇa there appear discrepancies between the general and the specific

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*A reinforcement of the view first published by G. V. Rao, *JIH*, 1949.

1. V. S. Sukthankar, *ABI*, vol. 1.

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statements, as is apparent from the following summary :—

Dynasties	Matsya		Vāyu		Viṣṇu		Bhāgavata	
	Princes	Years	Princes	Years	Princes	Years	Princes	Years
Mauryas Gen.	10	137	9	137	10	137	10	137
Parti.	4	...	9	133	10	...	...	...
S'ungas Gen.	10	112	10	112	10	112	10	More
Parti.	8	...	...	Exceed	...	...	9	than 100
Kāṇvas.	4	45	4	45	4	45	4	(3) 45
Āndhras Gen.	29	460	30	411	30	456	30	456
Parti.	30	448½	17	272½	24	...	22	...

Comment is needless, except that the discrepancies look more glaring in the case of the Āndhra dynasty than in that of the others. We may, however, note the fair unanimity of Purāṇic tradition that the Āndhra kings were thirty and that they ruled for over four centuries. But even this is seen to be in conflict with another point of obvious agreement among the Purāṇas, viz. 'Śiśuka of the Āndhra race, having destroyed Suśarman of the Kāṇva family with main force, and whatever will have been left of the power of the Śungas, will obtain possession of the earth.'[1]

No scheme of the Āndhra chronology can push the Āndhra-S'ātavāhana rule well beyond the second century A.D. The claims of several other dynasties that dominated the same areas would make any such effort untenable. Whether expressed or not, this must have been in the thoughts of all the historians of the period. A four-century rule, therefore, could have begun only in the third century B.C. V. A. Smith places the event in 240 or 230 B.C.[2] E. J. Rapson would have it 'before 200 B.C.'[3] But this was long before the overthrow of the Kāṇvas. If with Kern we take that the Mauryas began to rule in 322 B.C., the Kāṇva rule must end 294 years later, *i.e.* in 28 B.C. [322−(137+112+45)].

1. Bhandarkar : *Early Hist. of the Dekkan*, 3rd edition, p. 53, n. 10
2. *Early Hist. of Ancient India*, 4th edition, pp. 216-224.
3. E. J. Rapson : *Cat. of Ind. Coins of the Āndhra Dynasty etc.* pp. XVII-XIX.

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V. A. Smith, therefore, argues : "the Āndhra king who slew Suśarman cannot possibly have been Simuka."

R. G. Bhandarkar, on the other hand, accepts Simuka as responsible for the death of Suśarman Kāṇva. He would not believe that a four-century rule and of thirty princes is true, in this context. For him, the Vāyu is the earliest Purāṇa and therefore more reliable. Its list of 17 kings with 272½ years of total rule must provide the key to this problem. He agrees that the Vāyu's was only an approximation to truth, which is, as the Vāyu itself states, that 'the Āndhras will have possession of the earth for three hundred years.' (*Āndhrā bhōkṣyanti vasudhām śatē dvē ca śatamca vai*). The discrepancy is not very material and is easily explained by Bhandarkar by supposing "one or two reigns lasting about twenty-eight years to be dropped out by the corruption of the text."[1]

But that is not all. For, if the Āndhra rule lasted 300 years before its end about 200 A.D., we should yet seek its rise under Simuka, the slayer of Suśarman, early in the first century B.C., and not in its last 30 years. Bhandarkar would blame this confusion on the compilers of the Purāṇas, who, according to him, depict as successive what were really concurrent dynasties. He is, however, gratified that they let go into the Vāyu and the Matsya, the statement 'the like of which does not occur in the account of the other dynasties,[2] and that the founder of the Āndhras not only uprooted the Kāṇvas but also whatever was left of the power of the Śungas. This is possible only if the extinction of the Śunga and Kāṇva rule was simultaneous and "hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the Śungas include the 45 assigned to the Kāṇvas." This would bring the Āndhras to power in B.C. 73 [*i.e.* 322—(137+112)].[3]

This interpretation brings us into conflict with the Purāṇic testimony, which is confirmed by Bāṇa, that Dēvabhūti, the tenth and last Śunga king, was slain by Vāsudēva, the first Kāṇva to rule. How then could Dēvabhūti be a contemporary of Suśarman, the fourth and last Kāṇva king ? The interpretation is at variance with the trend of the preceding passages of the same Purāṇa. A different interpretation is thus called for. Vāsudēva Kāṇva has Dēvabhūti murdered. He uprooted the Śunga dynasty in Magadha, but did not annihilate the Śunga vamśa. Not all the Śunga possessions accepted his suzerainty. A few

1. *Op. Cit.* p. 58.
2. *Ibid.* p. 53.
3. *Ibid.* p. 54.

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of the Śunga scions held out perhaps south-west of Magadha, in defiance of the Kāṇvas. The Āndhra slayer of Suśarman, whoever he was, must have overrun their territories as well, during his march to Magadha.

The Śunga and the Kāṇva dynasties could only be successive. H. C. Raychaudhuri, who, like Bhandarkar, prefers the Vāyu to the Matsya, and also otherwise agrees with him, takes 28 B. C. as the initial year of the Āndhra rule.[1] We have already noted that this cannot be sustained, for it extends the Āndhra dynasty to the last quarter of the 3rd century A.D., which is impossible.[2]

We must thus reject one of the two unanimous declarations of the Purāṇas, viz. (i) Simuka was the slayer of Suśarman and (ii) the Āndhra kings were thirty and they ruled for over four centuries. I have shown how the former cannot be accepted. We must seek the beginnings of the Āndhra rule in the 3rd century B.C.

Bhandarkar himself observes that 'the tradition as to thirty princes and about 456 years may be accepted as correct.'[3] He admits that 'the details given in the Matsya come very close to general tradition and thus confirm it.'[4] But this is not to discard the Vāyu. "The Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas," writes Bhandarkar, "each give a correct account, but of different things."[5] The omission by the Vāyu of thirteen princes and the consequent reduction of the total duration by 176 years was because the Vāyu referred probably to the main branches, while the Matsya put together the princes of all the branches.[6]

Again, it is difficult to defend this stand of Bhandarkar. For, then, the 13 princes mentioned in addition by the Matsya should never have

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1. *Op. Cit* pp. 27⁸-279.

2. We can not argue that some of the Āndhra rulers survived in some parts of the Dakhan even to 270 A.D. It may then allow for 300 years from 28 B.C. But we cannot locate them. Secondly, if there were any, they should be other than the 17 of the Vāyu, who were all kings and sovereigns. The years of their rule would then swell the total period assigned to the Āndhras by the Vāyu. Or, we shall have to assume that several of the Vāyu's list were not kings of the Dakhan at all and that the end of the Āndhra power occurred long before the 17th prince ever came to the throne.

3. *Op. Cit.* p. 54.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.* p. 58.

6. *Ibid.* p. 57.

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ascended the throne at the principal seat of the kingdom, Dhanakaṭaka. Secondly, if, for some years, any of the other 17 princes of Dhanakaṭaka had earlier ruled from cities like Paithan, those years should be included in the regnal period assigned to each of them. Bhandarkar evidently appreciates these implications. He writes of Pulōmāvi, the son of Gautamīputra Śatakarṇi, thus : "He reigned at Paithan from A.D. 130 to A.D. 154, that is about twenty-four years and we have seen that the latest year of his reign recorded in the inscriptions at Nāsik and Kārli is the twenty-fourth. Altogether then his reign lasted for fifty-two years. But if the twenty-eight include the twenty-four for which he ruled at Paithan, he must have died in 158. This supposition looks very probable."[1]

This is interesting. For, the Vāyu does not mention this Pulōmāvi at all. The Matsya does, and so do the epigraphs. The twenty-eight years of rule are what the Matsya assigns to Pulōmāvi. If Pulōmāvi ruled for 52 years, then the Matsya's total for the dynasty does not include 24 of them. If, on the other hand, Pulōmāvi's 28 years include his 24 in Mahārāṣṭra and his only 4 in Dhanakaṭaka, what happens to Bhandarkar's theory that the Matsya put together the princes of all the branches and totalled up all their reigns ? Were we to ignore this, why should Bhandarkar adopt a different reasoning in the case of Yajña Śri? He writes : "Pulumāyi reigned at Dhanakaṭaka for four years and his two successors for fourteen. All this while, *i.e.* for eighteen years, Yajña Śri was ruler of Maharāshṭra. He must thus have ceased to reign in the last century in about A. D. 172 and died in about A.D. 202."[2] So, according to Bhandarkar, Yajña Śri ruled for 18+29=47 years. The Vāyu gives him a reign of just 29 years. The Matsya assigns not a year more. Yet Bhandarkar would not argue for the inclusion of those 18 years in the 29 years assigned to Yajña Śri.

We may also note that Pulōmāvi's two successors at Dhanakaṭaka were the Matsya's Śiva Śri and Śivaskanda. They are omitted by the Vāyu. Yet they must have been of the main line. Bhandarkar concedes this. But this reduces the number of the princes, assigned by Bhandarkar to the subordinate branches, only to ten. What is very significant is that all the ten are out of the first fourteen referred to by the Matsya Purāṇa.

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1. *Ibid.* p. 59.
2. *Ibid.* p. 60.

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This is easily seen from the Purāṇic lists of Āndhra kings as given below:—

MATSYA			VĀYU			VIṢṆU	BHĀGAVATA
No.	Names of kings.	Yrs.	No.	Names of kings.	Yrs.	Names of kings.	Names of kings.
1.	S'is'uka	23	i.	Sindhuka	23	Sipraka	...a Vṛṣala
2.	Kṛṣṇa	18	ii.	Kṛṣṇa	18	Kṛṣṇa	Kṛṣṇa
3.	Mallakarṇi	10				S'ri S'atakarṇi	S'antakarṇa
4.	Pūrṇōtsanga	18				Pūrṇōtsanga	Paurṇamāsa
5.	Skandastambhi	18					
6.	S'ātakarṇi	56	iii.	S'ātakarṇi	56	S'ātakarṇi	
7.	Lambōdara	18				Lambōdara	Lambōdara
8.	Āpīlaka	12	iv.	Āpīlava	12	Ivīlaka	Hivīlaka
9.	Mēghasvāti	18				Mēghasvāti	Mēghasvāti
10.	Svāti	18					
11.	Skandasvāti	7					
12.	Mṛgēndra Svātikarṇa	3					
13.	Kuntala Svātikarṇa	8					
14.	Svātikarṇa	1					
15.	Pulmāvi	36	v.	Pātumāvi	24	Pātumāt	Aṭmāna
16.	Gaurakṛṣṇa Riktavarṇa	25	vi.	Nēmikṛṣṇa	25	Ariṣṭakarma	Ariṣṭakarma Hālēya
17.	Hāla	5	vii.	Hāla	1	Hāla	
18.	Māṇḍūlaka	5	viii.	Maṇḍalaka	5	Paṭṭalaka	Tālaka
19.	Purīndrasena	5	ix.	Purīkasēna	21	Pravillasēna	Purīṣabhiru
20.	Sundara-svātikarṇa	1	x.	S'ātakarṇi	1	Sundara	Sunandana
21.	Cakōrasvātikarṇa		xi.	Cakōra S'ata-karṇi		Cakōra	Cakōra
22	S'ivasvāti	28	xii.	S'ivasvāti	28	S'ivasvāti	S'ivasvāti
23.	Gautamīputra	21	xiii.	Gautamīputra	21	Gautamīputra	Gautamīputra
24.	Pulōmāt Pulōmāvi (II)	28				Pulimāt	Purimān
25.	S'ivas'ri (Pulōmāvi III) Pārgiter	7				S'ivas'ri	Mēdas'iras
26	S'ivaskanda	7				S'ivaskandha	S'ivaskanda
27.	Yajña S'ri	29	xiv.	Yajña S'ri	29	Yajña S'ri	Yajña S'ri
28.	Vijaya	6	xv.	Vijaya	6	Vijaya	Vijaya
29.	Caṇḍa S'ri	10	xvi.	Daṇḍa S'ri	3	Candra S'ri	Candra Vijña
30.	Pulōmāt (Pulōmāvi IV)	7	xvii.	Pulōmāvi	7	Pulōmārcis	Sulōmadhi

It is difficult to believe that the Matsya busied itself first to dispose of the princes of the several branches—if such they were—before it took serious notice of those of the main line. Bhandarkar could have avoided all this confusion if only he would. These ten omissions by the Vāyu were not inadvertent but intentional. Doesn't the Vāyu itself declare that thirty Āndhra kings ruled for 411 years ? Bhandarkar consistantly ignores this. Nor would he notice that these omissions were in perfect consonance with the Vāyu's own canon to "speak of the more important only."[1]

1. Prādhānyatah pravakṣyāmi, *J. B. O. R. S.*, xvi, p. 2 4.

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The difficulty with Bhandarkar is his belief that the discrepancy between the Vāyu and the Matsya versions is one of substance and that they could be reconciled only on the supposition that 'each gave a correct account, but of different things.' I also believe that the discrepancy is not real. The two versions can be reconciled, but not on Bhandarkar's terms.

The Purāṇas were reduced to writing in the Magadhan court of the Gupta kings. Having described the Śiśunāga, Nanda, Maurya, Śunga and Kāṇva dynasties, the Purāṇas must be expected to continue the history from the time of the overthrow of the Kāṇvas and of the power of the Āndhras that overthrew them. The object of both the Vāyu and the Matsya Purāṇas must be the same, viz. to give a succinct account of the Āndhra kings who had the distinction of having ruled over Magadha and attained the status of kings of India. The Matsya set out to record in full their genealogy and individual reigns. But the Vāyu evidently thought a shorter list would serve the purpose. The reason will be discussed later. We may here notice that, but for this feature, the similarities between the two versions is striking and substantial. Now that Pulōmāvi, Śivaśri and Śivaskanda are known to have reigned in the interval between Gautamīputra and Yajña Śri, to that extent, the Vāyu's list, from Pulōmāvi I onwards is complete and is not different from any of the other Purāṇas. What is more, the differences in individual reigns assigned notwithstanding, on the larger dynastic scale both the lists reveal a surprising agreement. Nine of the Vāyu's princes, from Pātumāvi (Pulōmavi) to Gautamīputra, have a total rule of 126 years, the same as the Matsya's. Add to this the fact that six of the other eight mentioned in the Vāyu—the earlier Sindhuka, Kṛṣṇa, Śātakarṇi and Āpīlaka and the later Yajña Śri and Pulōmāvi—all get the same lengths of individual reigns in both the lists. The significance of so much agreement cannot be overlooked. Each of these Purāṇas gives a correct account and of the same things.

Yet the question remains—why a shorter list in the Vāyu? The length of the list should depend on the purpose. The Vāyu's purpose was to describe what happened to the Āndhras who displaced the Kāṇvas in Magadha. To start their story from that point would make their rise to so much power abrupt and inexplicable. With a few deft references to the fewest possible of their forerunners, the Vāyu gives a continuity to its account of the Āndhras. Sindhuka was the founder ; Kṛṣṇa perhaps rendered their power *de jure*, for the first inscription ever to be dated in the reign of a Śātavāhana king mentions him by name. Śātakarṇi, were he the husband of Nāganika, extended his power over the whole of

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Dakṣināpatha. Āpīlava—this can be ascertained only on the basis of his place in our chronological scheme—must have represented a stage in the Āndhra expansion towards or retreat from Magadha. These four excepted, all the other Āndhra kings are left out by the Vāyu until the advent of Pātumāvi (Pulōmāvi) I. From then onwards its account becomes fuller and more complete.

The Vāyu's objective thus governs the length of its list of the Āndhra kings. It also signifies the importance of those kings, for the Purāṇa undertakes to "speak of the important only." What was the nature of this Pulōmāvi's importance ? The Matsya supplies the answer : "As to the Āndhras, they are the Pulōmas."[1] Obviously, like the Vāyu, the Matsya regards this Pulmōmāvi I as worthy of special mention. If the subsequent Āndhra rulers claim the attention of the Purāṇas, it must be because of Pulōmāvi I. He must have done some thing great and memorable.

I suggest that in this Pulōmāvi I, descended from Simuka or Sindhuka, we should find the slayer of Suśarman Kāṇva and founder of the Āndhra rule in imperial Magadha. Then would disappear the fancied differences between the Matsya and the Vāyu which make their accounts look unreliable. We can explain in full the great interest evinced in the Āndhra kings by all these Purāṇas and their efforts to keep their lists from Pulōmāvi onwards, though they would omit many of his predecessors. We can appreciate the claim of the later kings to be regarded as the Pulōmas and how this name, next to Śātakarṇi's, was so very coveted among the Śātavāhana kings.

On the assumption that Pulōmāvi I was the conqueror of Magadha in 28 B.C., we may now fix the initial year of Simuka, the founder of the Āndhra dynasty. The reigns of Pulōmāvi's immediate predecessors were very brief—just 19 years for four of them, according to the Matsya. That should indicate a growing weakness in the Śātavāhana power. Pulōmāvi must have spent a considerable part of his reign to put things right, build an efficient administration and equip an army of invasion. If this occupied about 15 years before his attack on Magadha, he must have come to the throne in 28+15 = 43 B.C. Before him 14 princes of the line were kings for 228 years. In about 271 B.C., therefore, Simuka must have laid the foundations of the Āndhra-Śātavāhana power.

Simuka could not have timed this venture better. The death of

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1. Pargiter : *Dynasties*, p. 58. *J. B. O. R. S.* III, p. 248.

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Bindusāra in c. 274 B.C. plunged the country into a sanguinary struggle for succession, which delayed Aśōka's coronation for full four years. Kalinga, Āndhra and the other territories of the Dakhan, held down by Bindusāra's superior might, took advantage of the situation to free themselves. Of these Kalinga alone was reconquered by Aśōka and the Andhras were allowed to enjoy their autonomy undistributed. The several Āndhra families (*Andhraśca bahavaḥ—Mahābhārata*) brought together in subjection to the Mauryas were now unified under the authority of Simuka of the Śātavāhana *kula*.

Before proceeding any further, we may here restate the position. There is no conflict of substance between the Vāyu and the Matsya versions of the Āndhra kings. I believe with Bhandarkar that the Vāyu is the nearest in time to the Āndhra rule it describes, and its list, in so far as it goes, may be accepted as accurate. We may supplement this with the information that the Matsya provides regarding the other kings of the line. The regnal period of 21 years assigned to Gautamīputra by both the Purāṇas has to be extendad to 24 years on the basis of epigraphic evidence. With this slight change, we accept the Purāṇic list of 30 kings and a total rule of over four centuries for them. Their beginnings must then be sought in the 3rd century B.C. Simuka could, in no wise, be the slayer of the Kāṇva Suśarman. The slayer must be one of his decendants, most probably Pulōmāvi I.

C. 271 B. C. as the initial date of the Śātavāhana rule may be verified outside the equation of Pulōmāvi I with the slayer of Suśarman. But here we enter treacherous ground, for, to some extent, we have to do with palaeographic evidence. No finality could ever be claimed for chronological conclusions based entirely on similarities or differences in script of diverse persons and of areas widely removed, never more so when the object is to identify a third person. Such inferences are bound to be many and varied, uncertain and conflicting.[1] Yet with the Purāṇic concurrence as our sheet anchor, we may proceed with some confidence, though with abundant caution.

Our present enquiry is concerned with a Śātakarṇi referred to in the Hathigumpha inscription of king Khāravēla of Kalinga. He was the third of the Chēti line of kings. In the second year of his reign, he sent his

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1. The Purāṇas, too, contain many contradictions. But where basic agreement exists. I do not see why we should not use it for purposes of history. Epigraphy is relatively more trustworthy. But it is not, to the same degree, true of palaeographical deductions, which are indicative of broad periods and not of specific decades and years.

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armies west, 'heedless of Śātakarṇi'[1] The value of this reference for the Āndhra chronology is, however, vitiated by the uncertainty regarding the date of the inscription. It is now accepted that no Mauryakāla is mentioned therein to base our chronology on. Khāravēla's two northern expeditions resulting in the subjugation of king Bṛhaspatimitra are described, but Bṛhaspatimitra's identity with Puṣyamitra S'unga is questioned. Many doubt this, but K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji have shown that the inscription mentions a Yavana king, Dimita, who retreated before Khāravēla in the latter's eighth regnal year. Palaeograhically, D. C. Sircar feels that the inscription could as well belong to the end of the 1st century B. C. Individually, thus, each deduction from the Hathigumpha data is disputed. Dimita, however, helps us. He could only be Demetrius I, son of Euthydemos.[2] The retreat of the Greeks might as well have been due to troubles at home, as hinted in the *Gārgi Saṁhita*. What is more important is the return of Demetrius, which, according to Meyer, occurred in 175 B. C.[3] This was the eighth year of Khāravēla's rule. Some six years earlier he sent his armies against Śātakarṇi. So in 181 B. C., a Śātakarṇi was the ruling Āndhra king.

Whoever he was, this Śātakarṇi must have been very powerful. To disregard him (*acitāyita*) and get away with it was supposed to be no mean achievement for Khāravēla. Most likely, he was king Śātakarṇi of the Nānāghāt inscription. For 'the alphabet of the Nānāghāt inscription agrees generally with that of the Hathigumpha inscription.' Doubts, if any, regarding the latter's date do not affect its contemporaneity with the Nānāghāt record. The latter styles king Śātakarṇi as '*apratihatacakra*' and '*Dakṣināpathapati*.' May be, he earned these titles after Khāravēla's death. But among Khāravēla's contemporaries, he must have been regarded as quite a powerful king.

Which ruler of the Purāṇic list was the Śātakarṇi of the Nānāghāt record ? Opinion is divided, but that is because, for most of the scholars, the order in the Vāyu's list is also the order of Śātavāhana succession. We have already pointed out that Śātakarṇi, the third in the Vāyu, should

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1. 'dutiye ca vāsē acitāylta Sātakanim pachimadisam.....dandam pathapayati.

2. This Demetrius could not have ruled over the lands east of the Hindukush range. His was a mere invasion, which failed, because of opposition of Khāravēla and troubles at home.

3. *Encyclopaedia* Britannica IX, p. 88.

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be equated with the sixth in the Matsya's list, for they are assigned the same 56 years' rule each. Bhandarkar tacitly approves this equation as he writes, "The Matsya interposes three more kings between Krishna and Śātakarṇi."[1] As with Bhandarkar, so with Rapson, Raychaudhuri and others, the idea that the Vāyu refers to the order of succession was so strong that it influenced their interpretation of the Nānāghāt data in the face of Purāṇic testimony to the contrary. In the cave at Nānāghāt a series of names are found inscribed above six relievo figures, which are supposed to represent the personages mentioned in the large inscription. King Śātakarṇi, his queen Nāganika, Mahārathi Traṇakāyiro, presumably the father of the queen, and two of the royal princes and king Simuka Śātavāhana are all represented. But Kṛṣṇa finds no place there at all. So scholars at once conclude that Simuka was the father of King Śātakarṇi. But the Purāṇas are positive that Śātakarṇi was the son of Kṛṣṇa. Prof. Rapson observes, "It does not seem possible to reconcile this statement (Purāṇic) with inscription."[2] K. Gopalachari agrees with Rapson and others and believes that the Śātakarṇi of the inscription, as the son of Simuka, must come third in order of succession. But with Gopalachari this Śātakarṇi is not the same as the Vāyu's, whom he styles Śātakarṇi II and places as the sixth, with 56 years of reign, as does the Matsya. To the Śātakarṇi of the inscription he gives a reign of just ten years, the same as the Matsya allots to Mallakarṇi.[3]

These writers do not consider that the epigraph does not indicate any filial relationship between this Śātakarṇi and Simuka. Simuka is represented there, because he is the founder of the dynasty. He is the "*Śātavāhana-vamśa-vardhana*"[4] and is rendered the respect due unto him. Kṛṣṇa is not there because he is not the father of this Śātakarṇi. Śātakarṇi, the son of Kṛṣṇa, is evidently not so important. The Vāyu ignores him; the Matsya styles him as Mallakarṇi; the Bhāgavata has him as Śāntakarṇa; for the Viṣṇu alone he is Śri Śātakarṇi. Nāganika's husband, on the other hand, is the performer of a number of major Vedic sacrifices, including the Aśvamēdha and the Rājasūya, and, therefore, not

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1. *Op. cit.* p. 40.
2. *Op. cit.* pp. xvii, xiv f. n. 4.
3. *Early History of Andhra Country*, pp. 32-33.
4. This is the reading suggested by D. C. Sircar for the missing phrase in the 2nd line of Nānāghāt inscription. *See Select Inscriptions*, p. 187, f. n. 2.

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likely to be omitted or misquoted by the Brāhmaṇa Purāṇic compilers. Nor would a reign of a mere ten years suffice for him to achieve all that is claimed for him in the record. It stands to reason, therefore, to regard the Śātakarṇi of the Nānāghāt record as the third of the Vāyu and sixth of the Matsya. This may gain further support if we remember that Khāravēla performed the Rājasūya once, Puṣyamitra Śunga celebrated the Aśvamēdha in addition, and Śri Śātakarṇi of Nānāghāt performed the Aśvamēdha twice and also the Rājasūya, perhaps to emulate and excel.

Gopalachari accepts the Khāravēla-Śātakarṇi synchronism, but he is not certain which of the first two Śātakarṇis was the contemporary of the Kalinga king. He observes, "As Demetrius would have come to the throne about 190 B. C., Khāravēla's reign would on this synchronism fall in the second and third decades of the second century B. C. Śātakani I would,... have reigned between 200 and 190 B. C. As Śātakani II would have come to throne in 172 B. C. the synchronism of Khāravēla and Śātakani II is as probable as that of Khāravēla and Śātakani I."[1]

Gopalachari's chronology of the Śātakarṇis is based on his assumption that 'Śivaskanda of the Purāṇas (No. 26 in the list) was the king defeated by Rudradaman twice before 150 A. D.[2] The validity of this assumption is extremely doubtful. We may remember that Demetrius went back from India in 175 B. C., when Khāravēla had been ruler for 8 years. Khāravēla's accession, therefore, was in 183 B. C. By then Gopalachari's Śātakni I must have been dead for seven long years ; his Śātakni II, in 181 B. C., at the time of Khāravēla's march against him, had yet nine years to wait for his own accession to the throne.

If, then, Śri Śātakarṇi of the Nānāghāt record,—we may call him Śri Śātakarṇi II—was ruling over Āndhra in 181, B. C., the regnal year of Khāravēla, his accession must have occurred earlier, but not sufficiently so as to enable him successfully to beat back the aggressive Kālinga. The five predecessors of his ruled the country for 87 years. Simuka, therefore, must have founded his dynasty a few years before (181+87 =) 268 B. C. This confirms our hypothesis that Pulōmāvi I was the slayer of Suśarman and that the foundation of the Āndhra-Śātavāhana dynasty took place in c. 271 B. C.

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1. *Op. cit.* p. 37.
2. *Ibid.* p. 28, f, n. 4.

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Here, then, is our chronology for the Āndhra-Śātavāhana dynasty :—

No.	Names of kings.	Years of reign.	Christian calendar.
			B. C.
1.	Simuka or Śiśuka or Sindhuka ...	V. 23 M.	271—248
2.	Kṛṣṇa ...	V. 18 M.	248—230
3.	Mallakarṇi or Śātakarṇi I ...	10 M.	230—220
4.	Pūrṇōtsanga ...	18 M.	220—202
5.	Skandastambhi ...	18 M.	202—184
6.	Sātakarṇi II ...	V, 56 M.	184—128
7.	Lambōdara ...	18 M.	128—110
8.	Āpīlaka or Āpīlava ...	V. 12 M.	110— 98
9.	Mēghasvāti ...	18 M.	98— 80
10.	Svāti ...	18 M.	80— 62
11.	Skandasvāti ...	7 M.	62— 55
12.	Mṛgēndra-svātikarṇa ...	3 M.	55— 52
13.	Kuntala-svātikarṇa ...	8 M.	52— 44
14.	Svātikarṇa ...	1 M.	44— 43
15.	Pulōmāvi I or Pātumāvi ...	V. 24	43— 19
16.	Gaurakṛṣṇa or Nēmikṛṣṇa ...	V. 25	B.C. 19— 6 A.D.
17.	Hāla ...	V. 1	A.D. 6— 7
18.	Maṇḍulaka or Maṇḍalaka ...	V. 5	7— 12
19.	Purīndrasēna or Purikaṣēna ...	V. 21	12— 33
20.	Sundaraṣvātikarṇa or Śātakarṇi ...	V. 1	33— 34
21.	Cakōra Śātakarṇi ...	V.	34
22.	Śivasvāti ...	V. 28	35— 63
23.	Gautamīputra ...	Epigraph 24	63— 87
24.	Pulōmāvi II ...	28 M.	87—115
25.	Śivaśri or Pulōmāvi III ...	7 M.	115—122
26.	Sivaskanda ...	7 M.	122—129
27.	Yajñaśri ...	V. 29 M.	129—158
28.	Vijaya ...	V. 6 M.	158—164
29.	Caṇḍaśri or Daṇḍaśri ...	V. 3	164—167
30.	Pulōmāvi (IV) ...	V. 7	167—174

II

The chronological uncertainties regarding the beginnings of the Āndhra-Śātavāhana rule led Rapson to base the later Āndhra chronology on the known dates of the Kṣatrapas and other foreigners. Their inroads accounted for a decline in Śātavāhana power subsequent to the reign of Pulōmāvi I. To arrest that decline and re-establish the glory of the Śātavāhanakula was the work of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. His mother, Bālaśri, registering a gift at Nāsik in the 19th regnal year of her grandson, Pulōmāvi II, describes Gautamīputra as the destroyer of the Yavanas, Śakas and Pahlavas and the annihilator of the line of the

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Kṣaharāṭas.[1] A record from Nāsik (No. 4) dated in Gautamīputra's 18th regnal year indicates a campaign in progress. A large majority of Nahapāna's coins at Jogelthembi are found restruck by Gautamīputra. The latter's dominions described in Nāsik No. 2 include all territories referred to as Nahapāna's in the inscriptions of his son-in-law, Uṣavadāta, and of his minister, Āyama. They come from Nāsik and Karle and from Junnar and are dated in Nahapāna's years 41, 42, 45 and 46, which years Rapson refers to the Śaka era. A Girnār record of the year 72, accepted to be in the Śaka era by all, shows most of the territories of Gautamīputra as provinces of Rudradāman, the Kārdamaka ruler of Ujjain.[2] "It would seem improbable", writes Rapson, "that Nahapāna's reign could have extended much beyond the last recorded year 46=124 A. D. Gautamīputra's conquest of Nahapāna seems undoubtedly.....to have taken place in the 18th year of his reign. We, therefore, have the equation :— Gautamīputra's year 18=124 A. D. or 124 A. D. +x. On this synchronism, on the recorded regnal dates in the inscriptions of other Āndhra soverigns, on the known date 72=150 A. D. of Rudradāman as Mahākṣatrapa rests at present the whole foundation of the later Āndhra chronology."[3]

Thus, according to Rapson, Gautamīputra ruled from c. 106 to 130 A. D. His son and successor, Pulōmāvi II, would be the Śātakarṇi of the Girnar record, whom Rudradāman defeated twice but released because their relationship was not remote (*sambaṁdhā (va) dūra (ta) ya*). Rapson's conclusions are based on his theory of Nahapāna—Gautamīputra synchronism and on the date of the Girnar epigraph, which, at the time Rapson wrote, was the earliest known record of Rudradāman. Since then the Andhau inscriptions have been published.[4] They belong to Caṣṭana and Rudradāman and are dated twenty years earlier than the Girnar record, in the year 52=130 A. D. This leaves a short span of six years, too short for so many momentous events to hahpen, especially so in the early century or two of the Christian era. According to Rapson's scheme, in about 124 A. D. Gautamīputra must have been going through the early phases of his campaign and his *vijayanti* armies were still in Govardhana, in south-west Dakhan. Then followed his conquests of Anūpa, Aparānta, Ākara, Avanti, Suraṭha and Kukura. When the battles were fought and victories won, Gautamīputra's empire touched the Arāvalis in the north. Surely all this must have taken some time. Only a few years later, about

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1. *E. I.* Vol. VIII, Nāsik, No. 2.
2. *E. I.* VIII.
3. *Op. cit.* p. xxvii
4. *JBBRAS.*, XXXIII ; *E. I.* XVI, pp. 19 f.

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the 24th year of his reign, Gautamīputra passed away. Nineteen years afterwards in Pulōmāvi's reign, his glories are sung and his exploits recounted, with such poignant pride, by his disconsolate mother. There is nothing in the inscriptions of Pulōmāvi II to suggest any shrinking of his dominion during his reign. It is inconceivable that Gautamīputra must have lost part of his dominions to Caṣṭana and Rudradāman by 130 A. D. His victories could not have been so evanascent.

Teastenes (Caṣṭana) ruled at Ozene (Ujjain) at the time Ptolemy (d. 163 A. D), the Greek geographer, wrote his account. The last known date of Caṣṭana is of the Andhau records, i.e. year 52=130 A. D., when he reigned conjointly with his grandson, Rudradāman.[1] If by 130 A. D. Caṣṭana could recover all lands between Andhau and Ujjain i.e. from Cutch to Mālwa, while, according to Rapson, Gautamīputra must be living, the best that his mother could do in the service of Gautamīputra was not to dwell at all on his short-lived glories, but to allow that memory to sink into silent oblivion. The recovery of Ujjain by the Kārdamakas must be placed after the reign of Pulōmāvi II.[2]

The Andhau inscriptions thus prove Rapson's equation to be wrong. Nahapāna's years cannot be referred to the Śaka era. But Bhandarkar would still maintain that they were of the Śaka era and that the chronological improbabilities are easily avoided by postulating a conjoint rule for Gautamīputra and Pulōmāvi II. He observes, "Nahapāna or his successor must thus have been overthrown by Gautamīputra or Pulumayi about five or six years at the most after his latest recorded date, viz. A. D. 124."[3]

It is difficult to see how this conclusion of Bhandarkar fits in with the evidence of the Andhau inscriptions. We may note that even his theory of a conjoint rule of Gautamīputra and Pulōmāvi II is erroneously based. R. G. Bhandarkar argues thus: In Nāsik No. 2, Bālaśri is styled '*Mahārājamātā*' and '*Mahārājapitāmahī*.' Every mother of a king is also normally the grandmother of a king. The statement is pointless unless she were both at one and the same time. It is improbable that Gautamīputra should be highly extolled in the inscription and Pulōmāvi, in whose reign it was dated, passed over in silence, if Gautamīputra were not living,

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1. *I. A.* vol. XLVII, p. 154, n. 26. R. D. Banerji objects, vide *E. I.*, XVI, p. 22-23.

2. If Gautamīputra's 18th year was 124+1 or 2 the difficulty can be explained only on the assumption that Gautamīputra's were not conquests but mere formal claims. Analogies do occur. But we must first be sure that the years were of S'aka era. But for our assumption that they are so, there are no other grounds to regard Gautamīputra's conquests as formal claims.

3. *Op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

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but had been dead for 19 years. In Nāsik No. 3, Gautamīputra is called *Dhanakaṭasāmi*,[1] while Ptolemy speaks of Polemios (Pulōmāvi) as ruler of Paithan. D. R. Bhandarkar seeks further to strengthen the above argument and points to Nāsik cave No. 3. It was granted in the 19th year of Pulōmāvi's reign. In the 24th year Gautamīputra speaks of the cave as his own gift. For him the conclusion is irresistible that Gautamīputra was living during Pulōmāvi's 19th regnal year and that the year 24 of the other inscription, although it records a donation of Gautamīputra, must be referred really to Pulōmāvi's reign.

We should like to collate the information a little differently. In the 24th year of his reign, Gautamīputra donated that cave at Nāsik to the Buddhist monks. He died shortly afterwards. Some nineteen years later, in the reign of Pulōmāvi II, Bālaśri made several additions to that cave and regifted it with the additions. In Nāsik inscription No. 5 of the 24th year of Gautamīputra, Bālaśri refers to her son as one living (*jīvasutāya*). But in Nāsik No. 2 of the 19th regnal year of Pulōmāvi, the latter makes over the merit of the gift to his fater (*pitupatiyo*). Such an application of merit is made in favour only of a deceased person. Gautamīputra was tireless in the service of his mother and the old lady dedicated herself to carry to completion the cave planned by her son, so that it could equal Kailāsa in beauty and any day be more beautiful than the one built by Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna. And that done, her restraint gave way and she broke out in piteous praises of her beloved son. In that context, any praises of Pulōmāvi will be irrelevant and an act of irreverence to the memory of the departed hero.

It is pointless to read any special significance in to Bālaśri's claim that she was the *Mahārājamātā* and *Mahārājapitāmahī*. She lived so very long. She was the mother of the king to whose dream she gave a form and parent of the father to whom, his son Pulōmāvi, the reigning king, would make over the merit of the gift. Were Gautamīputra alive, her effort was needless; nor would she, if her son, the senior Mahārāja, was alive, date her record in any other's reign. Strange indeed should be the conjoint rule, with the two kings never mentioned together, the Nāsik record (No. 2) dated in the reign only of Pulōmāvi and Nahapāna's coins restruck only by Gautamīputra.

How then are we to interpret Nahapāna's years? K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, with Cunningham, refers them to the Vikrama era. For Banerji

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1. *Ibid*, p. 30.

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they are the regnal years of Nahapāna. Gopalachari feels that the question is not "so important as it might be if we had no independent grounds to fix his dates."[1] Yet he suggests, "The years may then refer to an era which started somewhere in the closing years of the first century B. C. or in the beginning of the first century A.D."

If Nahapāna's dates were his regnal years, we are no nearer a solution of our problem, unless we know when they began. Here I may hazard a suggestion for what it is worth. The Kṣaharāṭas, whom Gautamīputra annihilated, were the Kṣatrapas of Surāṣṭra and Mālwa. As suggested by V. S. Bakhle, the Kṣaharāṭas might be Pahlavas and the Kardamakas were Śakas. The members of these two families are styled Kṣatrapas and Mahākṣatrapas, which shows that they were originally feudatories, most probably of the Śaka-Pahlava power of Mathura. The death of their great king, Rājula, in about 17 A.D. was probably also the beginning of an independent Kṣaharāṭā rule in Surāṣṭra. If so, Nahapāna's reign must have ended in about 63 A.D. (17+46). That very year, according to our chronological scheme, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi ascended the throne at Dhanakaṭaka.

According to Schoff, Nahapāna is the same as Nambanus of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea. The kingdom of Nambanus lay on either side of the gulf of Cambay. His power was great all along the seaboard of Surastrane (Surāṣṭra) and the Greek ships going to the Śātavāhana port of Kalyan were diverted to Barygaza (Broach). Schoff assigns the Periplus to 60 A.D. Nahapāna must be ruling about that time.

The Periplus refers to two kings, Sandanes and Saraganes, who were evidently of the Śātavāhana line. Nahapāna's aggression and the consequent impoverishment of the Śātavāhana ports must have been at their worst during the all too brief 1½ years of the total rule of Sundara and Cakōra (33-35 A.D.). Cakōra's successor, Śivasvāti, enjoyed a long reign of 28 years. Apparently he held firm to his lands and put the Śātavāhana power on the road to recovery. Śivasvāti's death was close about that of Nahapāna in 63 A.D. When Śivasvāti's successor, Gautamīputra, launched his campaign about the 18th year of his reign, Nahapāna's kingdom did not offer any resistance worth the name.

An inscription from Nāsik (No. 4) registers Gautamīputra's gift of a field in western Kakhādi. It was a possession of Uṣavdāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna. The relevant passage runs thus : *yā khētam Ajakālakiyam*

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1. *Op. cit.* p. 58.

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Uṣabadātēna bhūtam.' Senart thinks that Ajakāla was the name of the field.[1] This appears more plausible because No. 795 of Lüder's list mentions a Yakṣa, Ajakāla by name. Bühler and Bhagavanlal Indraji, on the other hand, read the passage with some corrections, as '*yā khētam Ajakālikam Usabadātānubhūtam.*' They take Ajakāla as the Prākṛt form of '*Adyakāla*' and translate the passage thus: "the field which has been possessed by Ṛṣabhadatta up to the present time." If this be correct, then Uṣavadāta must have survived his father-in-law for at least eighteen years until he was dispossessed of his all by Gautamīputra.

The interval, therefore, between Nahapāna and Gautamīputra must have been short, leaving hardly any time for the issue of a new coinage by Nahapāna's successor or successors. There was none among the Kṣaharāṭas capable of filling the vacuum created by the death of Nahapāna. Or, if there were any, Gautamīputra would not allow them the much needed time.

The view presented above runs counter to the opinion which refers Nahapāna's years to the Vikrama era. In that case, Nahapāna's end must be placed in 12 B.C. (58 B.C.—46), more than 95 years separating him from Gautamīputra. Such a long interval is improbable, according to Bühler, who finds a striking similarity between the alphabet of Nāsik inscriptions of Uṣavadāta and Gautamīputra. But this similarity is what Nilakanta Śastri would expect of the inscriptions that come from the same area ruled by the Kṣaharātas for sometime before Gautamīputra recovered them for the Śātavāhanas. Nilakanta Śastri would deny that Uṣavadāta of Nāsik No. 4, the possessor of a single field, was the son-in-law of Nahapāna.

I shall not rush into their battle over palaeography. As for Nāsik No. 4, there is no suggestion therein that Uṣavadāta of the inscription was the possessor of a single field. The term 'Ajakāla' need not be shied at either. It could as well represent 'Adyakāla', in which case the passage would mean that the field in question had formerly been in the possession of Uṣavadāta, That would allow as wide a gap between Nahapāna and Gautamīputra as Nilakanta Śastri would need for his theory.

Further support for this theory is offered by H. Ghose's study of the Jogelthembi coins. Nahapāna's name occurs on all. But not all of them show the face of the same person. The changes in the facial forms are not due to ageing. Ghose opines that they "do not show faces varying in age,

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1. *E.I.*, vol. VIII, p. 72.

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but in every feature. This shows that Nahapāna was succeeded by a few rulers of his family. The humbled Kṣaharāṭa might have been a weak descendant of Nahapāna."[2]

It would then look plausible that Nahapāna's years were of the Vikrama era. But doubts persist. No compelling reason is given why they must needs belong to that era. A century of interval and no Kṣaharāṭa coinage except in the name of Nahapāna go ill together. Was 'Nahapāna' a general designation ? It could not be such an influence for Nahapāna's successors for over a century to efface themselves completely and beyond individual recognition. The reference in the Periplus to him places Nahapāna about 60 A.D, It is more reasonable that he was a contemporary and dreaded adversary of Sundara and Cakōra Śātakarṇi, who under no chronological scheme can be placed earlier than 35 A. D. And Gautamīputra was the next but one to Cakōra Śātakarṇi.

I am inclined, therefore, to regard Nahapāna's dates as his regnal years, starting from the inception of the Kṣaharāṭa sovereignty over Surāṣṭra, rendered possible by the death of the great Śaka satrap of Mathura, Rājula, in 17 A.D. Whether they were Nahapāna's regnal years or were dated in the Vikrama era, our chronology for the Śātavāhanas stands. Gautamīputra ruled from A.D. 63 to 87, and his son, Pulōmāvi II, for twenty-eight years thereafter, up to 115 A. D. Then did old Caṣṭana find his opportunity to strike for the recovery of the Kārdamaka dominions. By 130 A. D., conjointly with his grandson, Rudradāman, he re-established himself over lands from Andhau to Ujjain. Within these fifteen years, from 115 to 130 A.D., there were three successions in the neighbouring Śātavāhana kingdom, Śivaśri and Śivaskanda ruling for 7 years each followed by Gautamīputra Yajña Śri, who ascended the throne in 129 A. D. Within a year, Caṣṭana died and Rudradāman became king of Ujjain. Both paused to stabilise the position each held, before they faced each other later on the battle-field.

It was a long drawn-out war, with several battles fought, before it ended. At least on two occasions, Yajñaśri put his fortunes to a severe test and lost. The Girnar inscription describes how Rudradāman defeated the Śātakarṇi king twice and seized him but released him as they were both related. We have two inscriptions of Yajña Śri in the west. The one at Nāsik, dated in his 7th regnal year, shows his commander, Mahāsēnāpati Bhāvagōpa, in that area. The second is from Kānheri in the

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2. *I.H.Q.*, vol. VI, 4.

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Aparānta country and it bears the 16th year of Yajñaśri's reign. These two dates, viz., 7 and 16, probably mark the beginning and end of Śātavāhana resistance in the west. H. Ghose observes that Yajñaśri lost Aparānta to Rudradāman sometime after the 16th year of his reign, may be in the year 16+y. Like Bhandarkar, Ghose also believes that the year 72 of the Girnar epigraph refers only to the time when the lake was repaired. "A close internal examination of the record" led him to believe that the record was actually incised some years later, probably in the year 75 (Śaka). He argues, "It is thus clear that Rudradāman had finished his conquests about 75 Śaka, *i.e.* 153 A.D. Hence, by the above equation, Yajñaśri's accession must have taken place in the year 137 A.D.—y. We are not convinced that the record must be postdated by three years. We do believe, on the other hand, that Rudradāman's victories were won a few years earlier than the date on the record indicates. According to the scheme we have followed, Yajñaśri's 26 predecessors ruled for 399½ years. Even on Ghose's showing, Simuka must have initiated the Śātavahana dynasty about B.C. 262½+y=399½−(137 A.D.−y). The value of 'y' according to Ghose should be not greater than 10. This again confirms our theory that the foundations of the Āndhra-Śātavāhana dynasty were laid in 271 B.C.

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Kangra Art of Painting

A Visual Expression of a Culture

By

M. S. RANDHAWA, D. Sc.

[The author has traced the social and cultural developments in medieval India and has come to the conclusion that the Kangra school of painting was the culmination and visual expression of the movement of literary and spiritual revival which swept over Northern India during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The themes are provided by the scenes described in the *Geetagovinda*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulsi Das and similar other compositions, and spiritual experiences are symbolised by the relations between the lover and the beloved. The painters have interwoven spiritual purity and sensuous delight and the primal passion of an emotional people has produced a romantic art with its own symbolism and style of expression. *Ed.*]

"Art are living units, and the living is incapable of being dissected," observed Spengler. This in an oracular manner dismisses the labours of the formalist who tries to classify any domain of art into categories by criteria of medium and technique, and to evolve any form language. Arts have their own morphology, which admits of a metaphysical and historical treatment, but not of the technical or the physiological delimitation of art boundaries. To understand any great art one must view it as an organism with its own soul, expression forms and conventions. It has its beginning, fulfilment and decline in historic time. It is the symbol of the culture and ethos of the age to which it relates and acquires its style of expression only in relation to these. Every culture has but one style, and to understand any particular style-phase one must know the culture intimately.

What, then, is the Kangra Art of Painting? To answer this question we must know the significance of the culture from which it derived. By the eighth century A. D. Buddhism had practically disappeared from the country of its birth, and with it was also gone the subject matter and inspiration of its art. After the 9th century the orthodox art of India, which had found its richest expression during the Gupta period, declined rapidly, degenerating into florid pattern-work. The revived Hinduism failed to inspire any great art. A dark age followed and the minds of the Indian people fell in to a deep slumber. In this age, which was sterile so far as art was concerned, people satisfied their aesthetic sense in religious processions, celebration of seasonal festivals and the picturesque temple ritual.

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Vaishṇava Ravival

After the dark age of the 9th and the 10th centuries, we see the Vaishṇava revival in the 11th and 12th centuries. The heralds of the dawn were the *bhaktas*, mystics, thinkers and poets such as Ramanuja and Jaideva. Later on the torch was carried by Ramanand, Kabir, Dhanna and Ravi Das. It is noteworthy that a number of these mystics were from the so-called lower castes. Kabir was a weaver, Ravi Das a Chamar and Dhanna a Jat. The emergence of these *bhaktas* and mystics represents a revolt against caste system and social tyranny. These men preached that true religion lies in good actions rather than in ritual, ceremonial and caste observances.

Literary Revival

The religious revival provided stimulus to literature also. The cults of Rama and Sita and Krishṇa and Radha were like the warm breath of spring, which made the tree of life blossom. Intoxicated by its fragrance the sensitive soul of the disciple poet burst into song, and the outpouring of his heart provided peace and bliss to many. The literary revival was in two phases ; the first movement was in Sanskrit and found supreme expression in the *Geetagovinda* of Jaideva, and the second movement was in the language of the people, a type of Hindi. Ramanand, Kabir, Dhanna and Ravi Das wrote in the language of the people and their songs and hymns scented with the perfume of the Divine Presence are on the lips of many. Malik Mohamad Jaisi, who flourished in the town of Jais in Rai Bareli district, completed his well-known romance, the *Padamavat* in A. D. 1540. Keshav Das, the court poet of Madhukar Shah, the Raja of Bundelkhand, wrote his *Rasik-priya* in 1581 A. D.

In 1532 A.D. was born the great *bhakta* and poet, Tulsi Das, at Rajapur on the bank of the Yamuna in the district of Banda. He mainly lived at Banaras and Ayodhya, but like Kalidasa he travelled widely, and visited Jagannath Puri, Rameshvaram, Dvarka, Kailasha, and Manasarovara. In his *Rāmacharitamānasa* or the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which was written in the language of the people, Tulsi Das popularised the story of Rama and Sita among the masses. Rama, Lakshmaṇa and Sita provided human ideals to the people; the truthfulness of Rama, the loyalty of Lakshmaṇa, and the faithfulness of Sita continue to inspire the common people of India. There is spiritual glow in his writings and Tulsi Das shines with unusual brightness amongst the galaxy of Hindi poets. The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulsi Das is the most popular book in the villages of Avadh, and it gives solace to millions of villagers. They read the immortal book every day and recite passages from it on festive occasions, particularly during *Ram Lila*. The Kangra painters derived inspiration from the works of all these Hindi poets.

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Thus we find that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the ground had been prepared for the emergence of a new form of sensuous art born of the rapidly spreading Shaiva and Vaishṇva cults, in which spiritual experiences are symbolised by the relations of the lover and the beloved. In the domain of art the two worlds of spiritual purity and sensuous delight were interwoven, which gave birth to lyricism. The rich imagery of the Pauraṇic literature provided an inexhaustible treasure-house of themes to the poet and painter alike. It was as if the primal passion of a highly emotional people on finding release from monastic institutionalism produced a new romantic outlook with its own symbolism and style of expression. Religion and aesthetics acquired a new alignment, a plurality of affinities, as they moved hand in hand in quest of Reality. In the devotional faiths Beauty was married to Spirit, the inner and the outer worlds were unified, and a new trinity of Rasa-Rasika-Rasavant was founded.

There are numerous illustrations of the scenes described in the *Geeta-govinda*, both in Basohli as well as Kangra styles. The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulsi Das has also been similarly pictorialised. Padmavati with the parrot is seen in a number of paintings. The illustrations of the Eight Nāyakas and Bāra Māsa, favourite subjects with the Kangra painters, are portrayed with relevant verses from *Rasik-priya* of Keshava Das. Apart from these, other Hindi poets whose verses are quoted are Mati Ram, Bansi Dhar, Ram Guni and Gang.

Influence of Punjabi Culture

The inscriptions on the paintings are usually in Nāgri characters or in Tākri, from which Gurmukhi script was mainly derived. The inscriptions in Tākri are usually in Punjabi prose. Here we may mention another important source of the inspiration of the Kangra artists, the Punjabi culture, which has not been adequately appreciated in commentaries by art critics, who have very little knowledge of Punjab, its people, and culture. In the Kangra paintings, particularly those pained at Nurpur and Guler, which were close to the plains. the dress of women is typically Punjabi; they are usually shown wearing the *suthan*, a breeches-like *pyjama*, *kameez*, and *dupatta*. The Punjabi lovers Hir and Ranjha, Mirza and Sahiban, and Sohni and Mahinwal, are painted by a number of Kangra artists.

Guru Nanak

Here a reference to the great Sikh movement in the plains of the Punjab may also be made. Guru Nanak (1477-1544), the first Sikh Guru,

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was born in a village called Talwandi in the district of Sheikhupura in West Pakistan. The reality of institutionalized religions, which divided humanity into the Hindus and the Muslims, dawned upon Nanak, the great mystic and rational thinker. He freed the Punjabi mind from the cobwebs of superstition and ritualism, and he invited the people to come out of the cages, which their priests, the Mullas and the Brahmans had made for them. His constant companion was Mardana, a Muslim *Mirasi*, who played on the *rabab*. Guru Nanak talked to the simple people of the Punjab in their own language, and the masses could understand his message. Angad, his successor, formulated the Gurmukhi alphabet, which he mainly adapted from Tākri and thus provided a medium to the Punjabis for the expression and record of their language. Arjan (1581-1606), the fifth Guru, compiled the *Granth Sahib*, in which he incorporated Nanak's *Japjee*, as well as the religious poetry of Kabir, Jaideva, Nam Dev, Dhanna, Pipa, and other *bhaktas* as well as of Gurus Amar Das and Ram Das.

Guru Gobind Singh

Guru Gobind Singh (1675—1708), the tenth Guru, on his return from Patna chose Anandpur, a village in the foot-hill of the Shiwaliks, for his residence. He was a champion of the down-trodden people of north India and a redoubtable enemy of the Mughal imperialism. Mounted on a sable steed with a gold embroidered saddle, carrying a bow painted green, a white hawk resting on his left hand, and a crest glittering with jewels on his turban, the warrior-saint travelled in the picturesque sub-montane country stretching from Anandpur on the Satluj to Paunta on the Yamuna, fighting the hill chiefs, and the Mughal armies. A number of villages in this belt are associated with him, and shrines have been raised to commemorate his visit.

Apart from being a soldier, he was a scholar and poet, and he studied Persian, Hindi and Sanskrit. He resided at Paunta near Nahan in Himachal Pradesh for long, practising the use of arms, and composing poetry, and beautified the place with many gardens and pleasure grounds. He was a great lover of nature and found Paunta an inspiring place; the blue current of the Yamuna hemmed by low-lying hills covered with a dense forest gave him ecstatic joy. He used to rise early, and, after bathing in the river, watched the sun rise from behind the mountains, and walked along the bank of the river. Filled with the beauty of the landscape, the river, the blue mountains, the forest and the golden sun-rise, he would sit and compose poetry. He translated from Sanskrit the history of the Krishṇa incarnation, and with great joy described the sports of

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Krishṇa with the milk maids, and his devotion to Radha. In his *Rās Mandal* he described the dance of Krishṇa with the *gopis* in an acrostic made out of the thirty-five letters of the Gurumukhi alphabet. When he got tired of litrary work, he watched the rolling current of the blue river flowing south to Mathura and Vrinda Vana, where Krishṇa and his *gopis* lived.

From Paunta he again moved to Anandpur, and in 1698 he completed the translation of accounts of incarnation of Rama from Sanskrit into Hindi, at the base of Naina Devi on the bank of the Satluj. It was a period of great literary activity in the eventful life of the Guru, and while people imagined that he was worshipping Durga, in fact, he was busy writing poetry and translating Sanskrit works in the seclusion of the mountain retreats. He sent some of his Sikhs to Varanasi to learn Sanskrit, and on their return they translated portions of the Purāṇas into Punjabi. His *Chandi-ki-war*, which deals with the exploits of Durga, is written in a most powerful language.

At about this time, the bigotry of Aurangzeb was at its height, and the Hindus were being forcibly converted to Islam. Refugees from the tyranny of Aurangzeb found a welcome asylum at Anandpur. In 1697 Kuwar, son of Keshav Das, the famous poet, came to Anandpur. Aurangzeb had tried to convert Kuwar forcibly to Islam, and the latter fled for protection to the Guru. The Guru took him in to his service on a liberal salary. The Guru kept fifty-two bards permanently in his employ and they wrote on the nine subjects of love, mirth, pity, anger, heroism, terror, hate, wonder, and contentment as well as eulogies of the Guru. Their compositions are said to have weighed about two and a half hundred-weights, and the Guru compiled them in the form of a book, which he called *Vidyadhara*. This book he ever kept with him even when he went to battle. The bards translated the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Mārkaṇdeya* Purāṇa. When the Guru left Anandpur, harassed by the armies of the Mughals and the hill rajas, most of these books were lost in the current of the river Sirsa.

The ten Sikh gurus have been painted by the court artists of Sansar Chand, and there is a delightful painting of Guru Nanak by a Nurpur artist. From 1810 the Kangra valley was in the grip of Ranjit Singh, and Sikh influence becomes visible in Kangra paintings painted about this period, and is very pronounced from 1830 onwards: instead of beards trimmed in Moslem style, long flowing breads, and gloriously tied turbans are in evidence.

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Impact of Islam

The full impact of Islam on Indian life was very momentous. Emotional aesthetics had to struggle for survival in the face of rugged historical and cultural mutations. The Pathan kings, who ruled India from the twelfth to the fifteenth century A. D., were busy building mosques and mausoleums, as they were devout followers of Islam, and rigidly obeyed the injunction which forbade the portrayal of human figures. Hindu art in its organized practice could not exist any longer. Much of it suffered transmutation in to the new culture-pattern, but here and there it found small niches for self-preservation in the court patronage of dismembered Hindu aristocracy. This latter line in course of time took the form of folk art. And the Kangra art of painting is a scion of the pictorial folk art of northern India, commonly styled as Rajput painting. The term 'Rajput paintings' as used by Coomarswamy is equivalent to the Indo-Aryan, which designation covers the Rajputs, Khatris and Jats of the Punjab, the western Himalayas and Rajasthan, i.e., all the old Hindu elements in north-western India east of the Indus. They are called Rajput paintings, as the patrons were invariably Rajput rajas, though the painters belonged to different castes.

Mughul Culture

In the sixteenth century, the liberal-minded Mughuls revived art tradition. Babar, Akbar and Jahangir were great patrons of pictorial art. Shah Jahan was interested in architecture as well as in painting. With the passing away of Shah Jahan, the death knell of art at the Mughul court was also sounded, as his puritanical son, Aurangzeb, regarded fine arts as waste of time, and chased out all the musicians and the painters from his court. However, craving for beauty is so deep-seated in human heart that if it is suppressed in one part we find it rising in other parts of the country like a tree which has been cut, but whose shoots sprout in all their glory in the following spring. The Hindu painters of the Moghul court retired to Rajputana and the hill states of the western Himalayas

Visual Expression of a Culture.

Kangra paintings can be said to be the visual expression of the ancient Hindu culture of the north, which embraced India from the plains of Bengal, U.P. and Punjab to the Kangra hills. Here we use the term culture in its wider sense of the life of the people as a whole, which is the product of the soil. In these paintings we see a visual record of the social history of north India ; we see what our ancestors looked like, and what type of clothes were worn by men and women two centuries ago. We learn what type of men were admired by our ancestors.

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It was not wealth nor power which they worshipped, but renunciation of worldly goods; their ideals were not millionaires and kings, but Buddha and Guru Gobind Singh, supreme examples of self-sacrifice in fulfilment of an ideal. It is the fragrance of these world-renouncers, which sweetens the atmosphere of India, and the *bhakta* is still the ideal of the people. In these paintings we get glimpses of rural culture, the warm-hearted generosity, hospitality, sympathy and love of the simple villager, which is unfortunately fast vanishing before the onslaught of western industrialism and individualism.

Thus we get an answer to our question—what is the Kangra art of painting? Kangra art is the visual expression of a cultural movement, which has its roots in a great movement of spiritual revivalism, which found its apostles in saints, mystics, poets and thinkers, like Jaideva, Ramanand, Kabir and Nanak. Just as the culture of the dark-coloured humanity of south India found expression in Ajanta painting, the culture of the fair-coloured Aryan of the north blossomed into the Kangra painting. Thus we find that the Kangra art of painting is not a sudden development which is unrelated to the life of north India, but is the culmination of a spiritual and literary revival. Coomarswamy rightly observes that "these works are an immediate expression of the Hindu view of life. Here is that distinct, sharp and wiry bounding line which Blake, most Indian of modern western minds, regarded as the golden rule of art and life. A line so deliberate, so self-confident, so full of wonder at the beauty of the world, especially the beauty of women, and at the same time so austere, could not be a sudden achievement, nor depend on the brilliance of a single personality. It is the product of a whole civilization."

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Buddha Worship in Āndhradēśa

By

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[Like the rest of India, the worship of the Buddha constituted an important element in the religious practices of the Buddhists in Āndhradēs'a. The Buddha, who had been earlier regarded as simply the Master, was deified by the Mahāyānists, who began to make and worship images of him.

Dr. Rao, basing his article on a study of the sculptures obtained from Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and fabricated during the period 100 B.C. to 100 A.D., describes the various forms in which the Buddha was worshipped. The Blessed One was either adored in the icon or through symbols such as the stūpa (the hemispherical mound built over relics), the Bōdhi tree, the triratna (the three jewels or cardinal beliefs), the chakra (the wheel of righteousness), the chaitya (shrine proper), the Budhapādas (the foot-prints) and the relics. *Ed*]

Worship of the Buddha, in some shape or form, seems to have constituted an important element in the religious practices of the Buddhists of Āndhradēśa. It may be that the Buddha was revered as a great teacher in the early stages, but later on he came to be deified and worshipped. This deification of the Buddha was the necessary accompaniment of Mahāyānism, which advocated faith and worship as the means for obtaining nirvāṇa. Mahāyāna was in the process of formation for over a century before the advent of Nāgārjuna Bōdhisatva. Two factors point in this direction, viz., the evolution of the image of the Buddha and the appearance of his image in Buddhist art. The Buddha figure appears in the Buddhist art of Āndhradēśa in the second phase of Amarāvati art, which is assigned to about 100 A.D. The first phase is ascribed to 200—100 B.C. and the third phase to about 150 A.D. Obviously, the second phase lasted between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D. It is during this period that the image of the Buddha and its worship appear in Āndhradēśa. Later on this became very popular and Buddha worship took many shapes and forms.

The forms of Buddha worship were influenced to a great extent by the concept of the Buddha. The Buddhists of Āndhradēśa had a noble and lofty concept of the Master as testified to by two inscriptions from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa [1] This concept throws welcome light on certain elements that figure prominently in Buddhist art. The Buddha is compared with the Gaṅdhahasti and Vṛṣabha. Most of the uprights and many of the

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1. *E. I.* Vol. XX. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions B2 and F.

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casing slabs have animal friezes containing the lion, the elephant and the bull. The Buddha is praised as one who has conquered Māra and his hosts. Māradharṣaṇa or Māra's Assault or the Temptation appears prominently in the Buddhist sculptures of Āndhradēśa. The Buddha's setting the wheel of Dharma in motion or *Dharmachakrapravartna*, so highly praised in the inscriptions mentioned above, is also a common subject of sculpture. Then there is the reference to the feet of the Buddha adorned with the chakra and other auspicious symbols. Slabs containing Buddhapādas adorned by chakra, triratna etc.[1] have been obtained from several Āndhra Buddhist monuments.

Two broad features are observable in Buddha worship—worship of the Buddha image and worship of symbols. The image appears in many forms and is worshipped in many ways. Among the symbols that stand for the Buddha the pādas, the stūpa, the Bōdhi tree, the triratna, the chakra, the chaitya and relics figure prominently.

The image of the Buddha used for purposes of worship figures in two postures, the standing posture and the sitting posture. In one instance[2] the Buddha is shown standing on a lotus holding the folds of the upper garment with the left hand and the right hand in the *abhaya* pose. In another he figures in the same posture but with a halo round his head.[3] The Buddha, seated on a throne, appears very frequently in sculpture. This representation is to be found generally on the *vēdi* of a stūpa just below the *āyaka* platforms. The figure appears mostly in the *Dharmachakrapravartana.* The Buddha has his left hand in his lap, with the palm turned upwards and the right hand in the preaching pose. He is worshipped by devotees, human and celestial.[4] In one instance he has a halo round his head and is being adored by celestials above, dwarfs below and humans in front. Two dwarfs are shown on the sides, carrying on their heads bowls, containing accesories of worship.[5] There is another sculpture which contains more details. In this example, the Buddha, with a halo round his head, is seated on a throne attended by one celestial on either side. Below the throne are two women saluting him and two men beyond them, on either side, with their palms joined and held above their heads.[6] There are two peculiar examples of the worship

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1. *Arch. Sur. Ind. Memoir* No. 54., Pl.
2. *Arch. Sur. Ind. Mem.* No. 54., Pl. XI. d.
3. *Ibid* Pl. XI. b.
4. *Ibid* Pl. XIV., a and c.
5. Burgess—*Amarāvati and Jaggayyapēṭa*, Pl. XXXI-6.
6. *Ibid* XXX Pl. XXX-7.

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of the sitting Buddha. In one example, the Buddha is shown as seated on a lotus at the foot of a bōdhi tree which has two celestials above showering flowers from bowls in their left hands.[1] On either side, below, there are a number of men and women some saluting and others carrying vessels of peculiar shape in their right hands. In the other example the Buddha is seated on a siṁhāsana surrounded by a bōdhi tree with a chauri-bearer on either side. The throne is surrounded by a group of worshippers on either side.[2]

The Buddhapādas were a popular object of worship. These also figure prominently in sculpture. Very often they occur in combination with the throne and in a few instances with the flaming pillar. There are also slabs which contain only the feet. A partly mutilated slab was found during the course of the excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The heel is adorned with two triratnas having a pair of fish on either side. The centre is occupied by the chakra with thousand spokes. Above it and below the toes is a row of triratnas, svastika and fish. The toes contain the triratnas and an oval-shaped object. The border of the slab contains the lotus creeper interspersed with lions.[3] Many such slabs were obtained from Amarāvati In one example, there is the chakra in the centre surrounded by intricate carvings.[4] In another example, the chakra is surrounded by triratnas along the edges. On the ball of the toes are to be found the svastika, the vase and the vajra. On another slab there are many more details. In the centre there is the usual chakra with lotuses and svastikas on either side surmounted by a triratna Above the chakra there is a svastika with a damaru on either side. Lotuses and svastikas figure on the toes.[5] The borders of the slab contain beautiful lotus scroll work. One stūpa slab contains a peculiar representation of Buddhapādas. In the centre are the feet of the Buddha on a round object. Above is a nāgarāja standing with his hands folded and attended by chauri-bearers and other women. On the sides and in the forefront are men and women in worshipping postures.[6] In another example from Jaggayyapēṭa the feet are placed below a rectangular seat which has at either end slender pillars surmounted by the chakra and triratna.[7] Another slab from the same

1. *Ibid* XXXII-3.
2. *Ibid* Pl. V-2.
3. *Arch. Sur. Ind. Mem.*, Pl. XIX a.
4. Burgess Pl. III-6.
5. *Ibid* p. 98., fig. 30.
6. *Ibid* Pl. XXXIV.
7. *Ibid* Pl. LIII-8.

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place contains the feet with the chakra in the centre surrounded by the svastika, triratna and lotus and two peculiar symbols located along the edges. The border of the slab is adorned with lotuses in circles.[1]

The stūpa was another important object of worship for the Buddhists. Stūpas were either erected over the remains of the Buddha in which case they were known as Śārīrakas ; or over articles used by him, in which case they were Pāribhōgikas ; or in order to commemorate him, in which case they were Uddēśikas, Most of the stūpas found in Āndhradēśa are of the Uddēśika type. Stūpas, big or small; were raised in all Buddhist tīrthas and these were the objects of public and congregational worship. Some of them were built in the open while others were enshrined in buildings. These buildings were known as chaitya-gṛhas or chaitya halls. These were, in most cases, apsidal structures with a hall in front and an apsidal portion behind. A small stūpa was located in the apse. These chaitya halls are found generally attached to monasteries and were perhaps used for private individual worship. Buddhist sculptures from Āndhradēśa depict stūpa worship in several ways, The most common example of the stūpa figuring in this connection is that of a stūpa adorned by a single umbrella. One example is to be found in the top panel of an upright from Amarāvati. This stūpa stands on a double lotus base. It has a finely carved band and cross garlands on the dome. There are worshippers on either side.[2] The second example is to be found on a slab that adorned the dome. This slab contains a decorated stūpa with two surmounting umbrellas being worshipped by two calestials above and two human devotees below, sitting cross-legged.[3] Many examples of stūpas with a single umbrella above can be found in the garland friezes. In one case it has two semicircular projections on both sides, probably indicating the bōdhi tree, and two standing worshippers on either side.[4] There are two examples of a stūpa surmounted by four umbrellas. One of them is to be found on a slab from Amarāvati. This stūpa has a cross garland on its dome. Two umbrellas hang down from the harmika on either side. There are two celestials above and two humans below on either side.[5] The second example is found in a frieze from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. This stūpa is of the plain variety with a band and pendant only adorning the dome.

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1. Rea-*South Ind. Bud. Ant.* Pl. XV.
2. Burgess Pl. VII-2.
3. *Ibid* Pl. XLVII-4.
4. *Ibid* Pl, XII-1.
5. *Ibid* XLVI-4.

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Four umbrellas, placed one above the other, surmount the harmika.[1] There are examples of stūpas having numerous umbrellas. One example is found in a circular medallion carved on a slab from Amarāvati. The stūpa has a high vēdi with the rail ornament at the top. The dome above it is plain. The harmika is surmounted by a collection of 30 umbrellas hanging like a bunch. To the proper right are a number of women devotees carrying various articles of worship. To the left is a group of men playing upon the flute, drum and other musical instruments. Before the stūpa are two kneeling worshippers.[2] In another example found on an upright from Amarāvati, the stūpa has a high vēdi with a rail ornament at the top, the dome adorned by a single ornament and a collection of overhanging umbrellas surmounting the harmika.[3] Another example is found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. In this example also the stūpa is plain, having only the band ornament on the dome. The harmika is surmounted by a bunch of six umbrellas on either side and two above. There is one interesting example of a peculiar stūpa from Amarāvati.[4] This is found on an upright. Three small stūpas, each surmounted by an umbrella, standing in a row, are to be found at the vēdi. A rail ornament separates them from the dome. The harmika is surmounted by an overhanging bunch of umbrellas. There is a unique example from Amarāvati of a stūpa worshipped in a shrine. The lower part of the building has a balustrade with a rail ornament. Six pillars support the superstructure. In the centre is the stūpa on a decorated platform. It is surmounted by two umbrellas. Before the first floor supported by the pillars in front there is another balustrade with the rail ornament. It has two chaitya windows over the side compartments. There is a surmounting dome ornamented with two rows of chaitya windows and with a finial on the top. This is a unique example of a stūpa shrine.

The bōdhi tree was another important object of worship. It symbolises the Buddha in general and his saṁbuddhi in particular. It was worshipped both by itself and in combination with other symbols. One of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions mentions the erection of a shrine for the bōdhi tree. Shrines of this type, known as Vṛkśachaityas, were found in all tirthas. There is one fine example of a Vṛkśachaitya from Amarāvati. This is a lofty four-storied building with two chaitya windows in the first storey, three in the second, four in the third and five in the fourth. The windows rest on short rails. The building is

1. *Aroh. Sur. Ind. Mem.*, Pl. XXIX-c.
2. Burgess Pl. XVIII-4.
3. *Ibid* Pl. XLV-1.
4. *Ibid.*

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surmounted by a huge bōdhi tree with a celestial worshipper on either side at the top. There are two examples of the tree alone being worshipped. One of them is found inside a garland frieze. The tree has a round ornamented base. There are in the front two men worshippers with women behind them carrying kalaśas and other accessories of worship.[1] In the other example, found on a slab, the tree is located on a plain platform in the centre with couples of devotees on either side.[2] There are several examples of the tree worshipped in combination with other symbols. In one example found on a stūpa slab from Amarāvati, the tree and the throne are in the centre. Two women kneel before them on either side. Above them on both sides are a number of men and women in worshiping postures.[3] One more example is found in a garland frieze. Here is an empty throne surmounted by the tree with a worshipping man and woman on either side of the tree.[4] The tree also occurs in combination with the throne and Buddhapādas. Several representations of this description are found among the sculptures of Amarāvati. In one example, the pādas are found before a throne with curved legs and curved back, with a lotus in its centre. The tree is behind the throne There are two celestial worshippers above on either side of the tree, while below them are two men holding white umbrellas with a woman with folded hands behind each of them.[5] In another example there is a siṁhāsana with Buddhapādas before it and the bōdhi tree behind. There are two celestials above. Below them on the right there is a man pouring water from a kalaśa, while a woman stands behind him with a kalaśa in her upraised hand. To the left are a man and a woman with kalaśas in their upraised hands.[6] In a third example found on an upright, the feet are placed before a throne with a lotus in its centre and the tree behind.[7] There is another example showing the feet in front of the throne having two round objects with the svastika in the centre and the tree behind. There are chauri-bearers on either side of the tree. Before them are two persons standing with their hands folded. In the foreground are two more male worshippers.[8]

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1. Burgess Pl. XXII-1.
2. *Ibid* Pl. LII.
3. *Ibid* p. 89. fig. 27.
4. *Ibid* Pl. XXV-1.
5. *Ibid* Pl. XLVII-3.
6. *Ibid* Pl. XLVI-3.
7. *Ibid* XLV-2.
8. *Ibid* XXXVIII-6.

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In another example, the feet and throne are as in the above example. There is a male worshipper to the left and a female worshipper to the right. There is a chauri-bearer on either side of the tree behind. Behind them on either side are many worshippers.[1] In one more example the feet and the throne are as above. There are two men on the right, one offering some thing while, on the left also there are two men, one holding forth a vessel with both his hands.[2] There are a few examples of the tree worshipped in combination with the throne and the flaming pillar. One of the uprights from Amarāvati contains an empty throne surmounted by a flaming pillar which is itself before a bōdhi tree. A number of devotees surround these symbols and worship them.[3] There is one example of a combination of the bōdhi tree, throne and triratna on an upright from Amarāvati. In the centre is an empty throne surmounted by triratna with the tree behind it. There are two female worshippers on either side.[4] There is one example of the tree with a platform being worshipped.

Another object of worship was the Dharmachakra which symbolises the *dharma* preached by the Buddha. The preaching is actually described as *Dharmachakrapravartna* or the turning of the wheel of dharma. The Dharmachakra was worshipped in various ways. The most popular form is the chakra mounted on a pillar. Another is the chakra surmounting a throne. In one example from Amarāvati, there is a throne in the centre with the chakra above and with worshippers on either side.[5] Another example is found on an upright. This sculpture is in three compartments. In the centre there is a throne surmounted by a pillar with chakra. There is a devotee on either side. The two side compartments contain one pair of devotees each.[6] Another example is found in a garland frieze. This contains the throne with a round object, having a svastika in the centre and with the chakra pillar behind, There is a male devotee on one side and a female devotee on the other.[7] There is one beautiful representation of this type of worship from Amarāvati. At the bottom of a tall slab there is a throne with two round objects, marked with the svastika in its centre. Behind the throne is a

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1. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXVIII-3.
2. *Ibid.*, Pl. XLVIII-1.
3. *Ibid.*, Pl VII-1.
4. *Ibtd*, Pl. XV-1.
5. Burgess p. 89.
6. *Ibid.*, Pl. XII-1.
7. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXII-2.

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long pillar with the carvings of dwarfs, lotuses and lions. This pillar is surmounted by a throne with a chakra above it. There is a chauri-bearer on either side at the bottom. Above them and parallel to the pillar are horses and lions with riders emanating from the pillar. There are four celestials above the chakra.[1] Another equally beautiful example is also found at Amarāvati. In this example also there is a throne at the bottom with a chauri-bearer on either side. Above the throne is a tall pillar in five sections. The lowermost and uppermost sections contain an *āmalaka.* The three sections in the middle are carved with the lotus creeper. On either side of the pillar there are *mithunas* in charming poses. The capital of the pillar is surmounted by two lions facing opposite directions. The chakra above rests on the bodies of these animals. The chakra is in two sections. There is a stout outer ring with the triratna carved all over and joined to an inner circle by four bands in the four cardinal directions, There are two celestials above the chakra, two dwarfs on either side about the middle and at the bottom are two human beings in a diagonal position with one foot resting over the pillar capital and one hand supporting the chakra.[2]

The next important object of worship was the triratna, which symbolises the three cardinal features of Buddhism—Buddha, Dharma and Saṁgha. There is one example from Amarāvati of the worship of the triratna mounted on a pillar. There are two men on either side, one bearing the chauri and the other with folded hands.[3] There are instances of the triratna being worshipped in combination with the flaming pillar and Buddhapādas. One slab contains the pādas on a lotus. Behind is the flaming pillar surmounted by the triratna. A woman is bowing before them and another stands to the left with a kalaśa on her head.[4] There is one interesting example of the triratna set up in a shrine and being worshipped. This is also to be found on a slab from Amarāvati. The lower part of the shrine consists of an open portico of pillars. The upper storey has a low railing in the front and its roof has two chaitya windows. In the centre of the portico below is a seat with the lotus surmounted by triratna. There are *mithunas* on either side, carrying in their hands an object resembling two circles joined by a band.

The flaming pillar was another object of worship. It occurs either with the triratna or with the throne.

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1. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXIII-2.
2. *Ibid.*, XXXVIII-1.
3. *Ibid.*, Pl. L-2.
4. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIII-4.

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Sometimes the throne by itself figures as an object of worship. One example of this is found on an upright from Amarāvati. There is a throne with Buddha's feet before it. There are chauri-bearers on either side.[1] There is another example from Jaggayyapēṭa. This is the so called Puṇyaśāla sculpture. This is a two-storied building having a balustrade with the rail ornament below and supported by pillars four of which are in front. The open space between the pillars is in three compartments. In each of the two side compartments there is a woman bearing in her left hand a bowl filled with accessories of worship. The central compartment contains a throne surmounted by an umbrella with two garlands hanging from it. The first floor has a low railing in front and a chaitya window in the two side compartments. The central compartment contains five pillars supporting a bigger chaitya window on the front part of the roof. The top of the curved roof of the building is adorned by four finials.[2]

The temple also played an important part in Buddhist worship in Āndhradēśa. These temples were of two kinds viz., cave monuments and structural monuments. The cave monuments are either circular or rectangular or semicircular. The structural monuments are, in most cases, apsidal and rectangular in a few cases. In all cases these temples contained an image of the Buddha either carved on the back wall or built of brick and plaster or fashioned out of stone. In the apsidal temples the image was placed either on a platform or in a niche built in it. The shrine of Kapōtēśvara at Chējerla in the Guntur district is a very good example of a Buddhist apsidal temple.

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1. *Ibid.*, Pl. XI-3.
2. *Ibid.*

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Bairām Khān and Sher Shāh

(*During the former's captivity from May, 1540, to April, 1543*)

By

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[From the time of joining the service of Humāyūn till his death in 1556, Bairām Khān was closely associated with his master except for three years from 1540 to 1543, when he remained under Afghān surveillance. The author describes the fortunes of Bairām Khān during this interval.

After Humāyūn's defeat at Kanauj, Bairām Khān sought shelter with his friend, Miyān 'Abdul-Wahhāb, at Sambhal. The latter apprehending trouble from Nasīr Khān, Sher Shāh's governor of the place, sent Bairām to Mitter Sen of Lakhnūr. The hill chieftain, however, was compelled to surrender Bairām to Nasīr Khān and the latter would certainly have put Bairām to death had he himself not been replaced by 'Isa Khān. 'Abdul-Wahhāb had again Bairām sent to Mitter Sen. In course of time 'Isa Khān took Bairām to Ujjain and introduced him to Sher Shāh. The author gives the different versions of Bairām's meeting with Sher Shāh. After the departure of Sher Shāh from Ujjain, Bairām fled towards Gujarāt in the company of 'Abdul Qāsim, lately Humāyūn's governor at Gwalior. During the course of the flight, 'Abdul Qāsim laid down his life in order to save Bairām from Sher Shāh's pursuing soldiers. Bairām reached Gujarāt, was kept concealed in their houses by some of his friends, was introduced to Sultān Mahmūd at an opportune moment and, finally, managed to join his master, Humāyūn, in Sindh. *Ed.*]

Ever since Bairām Khān joined the service of prince Humāyūn, he remained associated with his master till his death in 1556. But for about three years after the battle of Kanauj he was separated from Humāyūn and remained under Afghān surveillance. It was during this period (Muharram, 947/May, 1540—Muharram, 950/April, 1543) that the historic meeting took place between the author of Afghān revival and the future author of Mughul restoration.

1. *Bairām Khān in exile at Sambhal and Lakhnūr.*

After the disastrous battle of Kanauj, in which he took part and which led to the complete annihilation of Humāyūn's army and consequently to the loss of his throne as well as his kingdom, Bairām[1] escaped to Sambhal because he had intimate friendship with Miyān 'Abdul-Wahhāb, son of 'Azīz-Ullah Dānishmand, one of the prominent men of the place. 'Abdul-Wahhāb, however, apprehending danger from Nasīr Khān, Sher Shāh's governor, did not think it proper to keep him at Sambhal, but

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1. He was still Bairām Beg and had not yet obtained the title of Khān.

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made him over to Mitter Sen, the rāja of Lakhnūr.[1] During this period of distress Shaikh Gadāī and Masnad-i-'alā Bahbal Khān sent him his requirements from Gujarāt and invited him to go there.[2] But Mitter Sen was soon compelled from fear of Sher Shāh to surrender him to Nasīr Khān who wanted to put him to death.

On the complaints of the people of Sambhal against Nasīr Khān, who tyrannised over them, Sher Shāh appointed Masnad-i-'alā 'Isā Khān, a prominent Afghān nobleman who had served at the courts of Māndū, Ahmadābād and Delhi, as governor of Sambhal. When 'Isā Khān arrived at Sambhal, he found Bairām in the grip of Nasīr Khān. Bairām was saved through the timely intercession of his friend, 'Abdul-Wahhāb, who approached 'Isā Khān to rescue the helpless refugee. As he was on very friendly terms with 'Abdul-Wahhāb, 'Isā Khān demanded Bairām back from Nasīr Khān. 'Isā Khān kept Bairām at his own residence for some time and treated him with every kindness, even giving him an allowance for his support. 'Isā Khān then sent Bairām again to Mitter Sen and promised to secure for him Sher Shāh's pardon and an appointment in his service. So Bairām passed his days at Lakhnūr under the protection of Mitter Sen. 'Abdul-Bāqī says that Bairām spent three years in the hills of Lakhnūr,[3] but this cannot be true, for the duration of the period from his flight from the battle field of Kanauj to his joining Humāyūn in Sind was a few days less than three years.[4] According to Ahmad bin Bahbal Bairām remained with Mitter Sen for five months,[5] but it seems he remained there for a longer period and his stay at Sambhal was for a short period. Altogether Bairām must have passed about two years at Sambhal and Lakhnūr, for 'Isā Khān took Bairām with him when he joined Sher Shāh during his campaign of Mālwā in 949 A. H./1542 A D. It seems from Abu-'l-Fazl and Ahmad bin Bahbal[6] that Sher Shāh himself demanded the surrender of Bairām and 'Isā Khān consequently took him under his master's instruction.

2. *Bairām meets Sher Shāh.*

Masnad-i-'alā 'Isā Khān and Bairām met Sher Shāh at Ujjain.

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1. *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, Jarrett, ii, p. 105.
2. *Ma'dan-i-akhbār-i-Ahmadī*, fol. 171b ; *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, British Museum Ms. fol. 597 b.
3. *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, ii, p. 13.
4. The *Haft Iqlīm*, India Office Ms., fol. 182a, is wrong in stating that Bairām rejoined Humāyūn after two months.
5. *Ma'dan-i-akhbār-i-Ahmadī*, fol. 64a ; but at fol. 171b we have : پنجماه و کثری.
6. *Akbar-nāma*, English translation, i, p. 381; *Ma'dan-i-akhbār-i-Ahmadī*, fol. 64a.

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According to Abu-'l-Fazal and other Mughul historians who follow him, Bairām met the Afghān king on the road to Mālwā.[1] The Afghān and Mughul historians differ as to the treatment accorded to Bairām by Sher Shāh. According to 'Abbās Sarwānī, when Bairām was presented to Sher Shāh, he angrily asked explanation for the delay in his arrival.[2] 'Isā Khān in order to save Bairām replied that he had been in the house of Shaikh Mulhī-i-Qattāl, referring to his stay at his own residence, for the Shaikh was his father.[3] As it was an established custom among the Afghāns that any criminal who took refuge with the relatives of Shaikh Mulhī-i-Qattāl should be pardoned, Sher Shāh pardoned Bairām. At the prayer of 'Isā Khān, Sher Shāh granted Bairām a horse and a robe also and permitted him to stay with Abu-'l-Qāsim, the Mughul governor of Gwalior, who had surrendered to Sher Shāh during his recent visit to that place.[4] When Sher Shāh marched from Ujjain, both Abu-'l-Qāsim and Bairām fled towards Gujarāt.

The Mughul historians Abu-'l-Fazl and 'Abdul-Bāqī give an entirely different account of the meeting of Bairām and Sher Shāh and the Afghān monarch's treatment of the former. According to them, when Bairām was taken to the Afghān royal camp, Sher Shāh 'treated him with marked distinction', rose up from his seat as a mark of respect, embraced[5] him and gave him precedence of his nobles in the durbar. Sher Shāh tried to win him over and addressed him in the most flattering manner. In the course of conversation he is said to have remarked : 'He who is loyal does not stumble.' Bairām replied with ready wit : 'Exactly so, he who is loyal will never stumble.' He passed some days in Sher Shāh's camp and after great difficulties made his escape from near Burhānpur[6]

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1. The *Ma'dan-i-akhbāri-Ahmadī*. foll. 171b, however, has Ujjain.

2. *The Ma'dan-i-akhbāri-Ahmadī*, foll. 64a, 172a, states that Sher Shāh persuaded Bairām to join his service which Bairām refused. Sher Shāh then out of anger asked where he had been so long.

3. 'Abbās Sarwānī in Elliot and Dowson, iv, p. 377. Elliot, iv, p. 385, has Shaikh Malhī Kahāl and at p. 388 we have 'Kayāl'. Dorn, *History of the Afghans*. i, p. 129, has Mulhi Kattal Mulhī Qattāl seems to be the correct expression. See Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, pp. 458-59.

4. 'Abbās in Elliot and Dowson, iv, pp. 391-92 ; *Mākhzan-i-Afghānan*, Asiatic Society MS. No. 100, fol. 89b.

5. According to the *Maāsir-ul-umarā*. i, p. 372.

6. According to the *Ma'dan-i-akhbār-i-Ahmadī*, fol. 64a, Bairām escaped from near Gwalior through the efforts and exertions of men sent by Shaikh Gadāī and Bahbal Khān. At foll. 172a-b we are told that Bairām and Abu-'l-Qāsim waited for the men of Shaikh Gadāī and Bahbal Khān who had after Humāyūn's defeat gone to Gujarāt and had been kindly received by Sultān Mahmūd and they arranged for their leaving Ujjain for Gujarāt by way of Māndū and Asīr.

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towards Gujarāt along with Abu-'l-Qāsim, the late Mughul governor of Gwalior. Sher Shāh very often used to remark : "As soon as Bairām said in the assembly—'whoever keeps his loyalty shall not stumble'—we gathered that he would not come to terms with us." Bairām must have been already a man of sufficient importance and merit whose service Sher Shāh valued and whose refusal he so much regretted, though as yet he had not played a very prominent part in the affairs of the Mughuls.

3. *Bairām stays in Gujarāt and joins Humāyūn in Sind.*

While Bairām with Abu-'l-Qāsim was on his way to Gujarāt, an envoy of Sher Shāh, who was returning from there and had heard of Bairām's escape, sent men for him. They arrested Abu-'l-Qāsim, marked as he was for his manly physique, mistaking him for Bairām. Bairām like a hero declared, "I am Bairām." But Abu-'l-Qāsim with greater heroism said, "No, he is my servant[1] and he wishes to sacrifice himself for me ; withdraw your hand from him." So they took Abu-'l-Qāsim and presented him to Sher Shāh and there he was put to death.[2] In this way Bairām freed himself from the clutches of Sher Shāh and made his escape towards Gujarāt But for the devotion and self-sacrifice of a generous companion, Bairām would have died as an insignificant *muhrdar* in Humāyūn's service.

On his way he fell in with a party of Gūwārās and Kulīs who were drinking and dancing and asked him to take part in their merry-making. Somehow he managed to escape and reached the court of Sultān Mahmūd III at Ahmadābād.[3] Sher Shāh sent an envoy to the Sultān of Gujarāt, demanding the extradition of Mughul fugitives. Shaikn Gadāī and Bahbal Khān, who had invited Bairām and helped him escape to Gujarāt, kept him concealed at their house till the return of Sher Shah's envoy and introduced him to Sultān Mahmūd through Afzal Khān, the most influential nobleman and afterwards his minister. Sultān Mahmūd offered him service which he politely refused.[4] Bairām remained in Gujarāt for eight months and from there wrote a letter to Humāyūn, expressing his earnest willingness to rejoin his service.[5] It was during

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1. The *Ma'dan-i-akhbār-i-Ahmadī*, fol. 172b, has companion (مصاحب).

2. According to 'Abbās Sarwānī, MS., fol. 193 and Elliot and Dowson, iv, p. 385, Abu'-l-Qāsim was killed on the way and according to Ni'mat-Ullāh in Dorn, i. p. 129, he fell into the hands of robbers and was assassinated.

3. It may be mentioned that Qādir Shāh of Mālwā, who made his submission to Sher Shāh, escaped from Ujjain and took refuge with Sultān Mahmūd III of Gujarāt.

4. *Zafar-ul-Wālih bi Muzaffar wa Ālih*, iii, p. 999.

5. *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī*, ii, pp. 14-15.

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his exile in Gujarāt that Shaikh Gadāī showed him kindness and rendered him great help which Bairām repaid afterwards when he rose to power under Akbar. It is worthy of note that when he became the first minister and the virtual dictator of the Mughul kingdom, Bairām did not forget those who had rendered him help during his exile, but had then fallen on evil days. Besides Shaikh Gadāī, whom he appointed to the exalted position of *Sadr-us-sudūr*, he "returned the kindness of Shaikh 'Abdul-Wahhāb and Rājā Mitter Sen with every imaginable favour." And when some intimates of the Khān Khānān asked him if he had received any kindness from Masnad-i-'ālā Isā Khān, Bairām Khān replied, "He saved my life ; if he will come to me, I shall feel myself honoured. If I cannot give him more than Sher Shāh, I at least will give him his own Sambhal."[1] But the proud Afghān, though he was more than ninety and in distress, rejected the suggestion of his counsellors who advised him to seek Bairām Khān's help as he, every inch an Afghān, considered it beneath his dignity to obtain help from a Mughul.

On pretext of pilgrimage Bairām obtained leave from Sultān Mahmūd, who gave him the necessary expenses, and arrived at the port of Surat. From Surat he went to Mārwār and as he could not find his master there he returned to the confines of Gujarāt and from there took the road to Sind where Humāyūn had gone and joined him in Jūn on 7 Muharram, 950/13 April, 1543.

4. *Did Bairām go to Hardwār ?*

There is some confusion regarding Bairām's movement : whether from Gujarāt he went to Hardwār or Mārwār. The *Akbar-nāma* (Calcutta text, i, p. 186) has Hardwār. In the foot-note it is stated that one MS. has Mārwār and in the errata Hardwār has been corrected to Mārwār. In the *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī* (ii, p. 15) we obtain Hardwār and it is definitely stated that Bairām joined Humāyūn in Sind from Hardwār. The *Iqbāl-nāma* (I O. MS., fol. 59b), *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī* (i, p. 559) and *Maāsir-ul-umarā* (i, p. 373) state that Bairām went from Surat to Hardwār. But no other work excepting the second volume of the *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī* states that Bairām came to Jūn from Hardwār. The *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī* is contradictory in its statement for at p. 558 of the first and at p. 310 of the second volume we are told that Bairām joined Humāyūn from the boundaries of Gujarāt (از حدود گجرات) which occurs both in the *Akbar-nāma* (text, i, p. 185) and the *Iqbāl-nāma* (fol. 59a) as well as in the *Tārīkh-i-Ma'sumī* (MS. fol. 89b). Gulbadan Begam, Jauhar,

1. 'Abbās, MS., fol. 194, Elliot and Dowson, iv, pp. 385-86.

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Nizām-ud-dīn, Badāūnī, Firishta, Abbās Sarwānī, Ja'far Beg Āsaf Khān and 'Abdullah Muhammad – all agree in saying that Bairām joined Humāyūn in Sind from Gujarāt.[1] In view of the statement of almost all the authorities that Bairām returned to Humāyūn's camp in Sind from Gujarāt or the confines of Gujarāt, Hardwār seems to be incorrect. Hardwār is much distant from Gujarāt. Even if Bairām met Sher Shāh at the beginning of 949 A. H., it was very difficult for him to go to such a long distance, for he spent eight months in Gujarāt and rejoined Humāyūn in Sind on 7 Moharram, 950 A. H. Within the short period of two months or so at his disposal, he could not have gone to Hardwār and returned to Gujarāt. Besides, the astute Bairām, after his narrow escape from the grip of Sher Shāh, would not again take the risk of going to that region which was under the control of the Afghān king. On the other hand it was quite natural and possible for Bairām to have gone to Mārwār as one MS. of the *Akbar-nāma* has it. He had possibly learnt of Māldeo's pro-Mughul attitude and Humāyūn's journey to Rājputāna, for Bairām was in contact with his master. From the *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī* (ii, p. 15) we learn that Bairām wrote from Gujarāt a letter to Humāyūn to which the latter replied. But when Bairām could not find Humāyūn in Mārwār as he expected, because Humāyūn had had to flee Māldeo's territory on account of Sher Shāh's pressure, Bairām returned to Gujarāt and from there proceeded to Sind where Humāyūn had gone back. It seems, therefore, that Marūwār (مرووار), which is the original word for Mārwār, has been in Abu-'l-Fazl's original incorrectly copied as Hardwār (هردوار) and such mistake was quite possible.[2] The *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī*, *Iqbāl-nāma* and *Maāsir-ul-umarā*, which have Hardwār, all draw closely on the *Akbar-nāma*. Beveridge at first accepted Hardwār (*Akbar-nāma*, i, p. 382n4), but afterwards revised his opinion and in the Errata and Addenda, p. xix, suggests that Hardwār (هردوار) has been a mistake for *hadūd* (حدود boundaries) from which, according to the *Akbar-nāma*, *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī*, *Iqbāl-nāma* and *Tārīkh-i-Ma'sumī*, Bairām came to Sind. It is of course difficult to say definitely where Bairām went from Surat—whether to the confines of Gujarāt (*hadūd*) or to Mārwār. But the mistake

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1. Gulbadan, text, p. 61 ; the *Tarīkh-i-Alfī*, India. Office MS., fol., 417b, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. Calcutta text, ii, p. 56, have از جانب گجرات. Jauhar British Museum MS., fol. 58a, Badāūni, text, i, p. 442, Firishta, i, p. 220 and 'Abbās, MS., fol. 193, have از گجرات. Abdulla Muhammad, iii, p. 997 has the same.

2. All the MSS. of the *Akbar-nāma* at the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, have Hardwar هردوار.

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for Mārwār seems far more probable than for *hadūd* (حدود : مروار : هردوار) and Bairām had good reason to proceed to Mārwār and not to go to Hardwār as explained above. On the whole Mārwār seems to be more reasonable than Hardwār and even *hadūd*.[1]

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16. Shāh Nawāz Khān : *Maāsir-ul-umarā*, vol. i, text published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

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1. It may be noted here that the *Ma'dan-i-akhbār-i-Ahmadī*, foll. 65a and 133b, does not refer to Bairām's going to Hardwār but says that from Gujarāt he went to Sind through Cutch. Erskine *History of India*, ii p. 259, has Kathiāwār : 'He obtained leave to make the pilgrimage of Mekka, repaired to Surat, as if for that purpose, passed over into Kattiāwār, and thence soon after joined Humāyūn at Jūn.' I do not know on what authority Erskine has Kathiāwār. Similar is the suggestion of Dwāraka by Chalmers in his English translation of the *Akbar-nāma* (British Museum MS.)

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Naga Sannyasi Ganeshgeer and the Kuchbihar Disturbance of 1787 A.D.

By

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[In the last quarter of the eighteenth century organised bands of militant Sannyasis, the patriotic activities of some of whom have been immortalised by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, roamed over north Bengal and challenged the nascent English power in India. With superior resouaces, the English East India Company succeeded ultimately in suppressing the warrior monks, yet they continued to make inroads in to Bengal right up to the eighteenth century.

The auother describes the exploits of the Sannyasi leader Ganeshgeer and his followers. —*Ed.*]

In a paper read at the meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Mysore I have shown that in 1773 A.D. the Naga warrior-monks spread over north Bengal and the present Dacca and Mymensingh districts and threatened to sweep away the nascent power of the East India Company in that region. This wide-spread movement of the Sannyasis was followed by prompt and active measures on the part of the Company's Government to stamp it out completely from Bengal and Bihar.[1] In spite of this the Sannyasis continued to make periodical inroads into Bengal for well nigh two decades.

During this period, in 1787 A.D., an utterly obscure Sannyasi leader attempted to gain control of the Kuchbihar state, by allying himself with Nazir Khagendranarayan. He challenged the British officers and their trained sepoys to action and succumbed ultimately to their superior skill and strategy. Yet he deserves a place in the contemporary history of Bengal on account of the energy, ability and leadership which he displayed in fighting and organising the resistance against the Company's authority in a corner of Bengal. The name of this Naga warrior was Ganeshgeer and it is the object of this paper to offer a sketch of his career on the

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1. (a) Warren Hasting's circular letter to the Collectors, dated 21st January, 1773, asking them to secure intelligence about the itinerant *faqirs* through the *zamindars*, *dewans* etc, and forbidding all travellers to carry arms in their journeys.

(b) Another notice issued about the same time expelled all Sannyasis with certain exceptions from Calcutta and the districts. [Secret Dept Procgs., 10th Marck, 1773.]

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basis of fragments of facts found scattered in the contemporary state papers.

The small kingdom of Kuchbihar, ever since its foundation early in the 16th century, had been a buffer state between the subah of Bengal and the mountainous kingdoms of Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet. After the decay of the Mughal power, the Bhutias commenced aggression against the plains and virtually brought the state under their control about 1763 A.D. They lost their hold over this small principality when Capt. Jones stormed the fort of Kuchbihar on the 21st December, 1772, and expelled the Bhutia force from its boundary. Hostilities continued between them and the British until the 25th April, 1774 A.D., when their mutual differences were resolved by a treaty of friendship. Under its terms Maharaja Dhairyendranarayan, who was carried a prisoner to Bhutan and was there in 1769-1770 A.D., was sent back to Kuchbihar. He, however, declined to take the reins of administration in his hands and consequently the kingdom continued to be managed by the Rani, Kamateswari Debi, and her favourite Sarwananda Goswami, the religious guide of the Raj family. Their ascendancy was resented by Nazir Khagendranarayan who temporarily got the upper hand over the Rani during the collectorate of Goodlad (1775-83 A.D.), but was driven into exile when a new collector, Peter Moore, assumed office in 1784 In 1787 the Rani attended by her favourite Sarwananda went on a pilgrimage to the Ganga ond public indignation at an act, which was deemed to have lowered the prestige of the Raj family, was great.

Such was the occasion when Marichmati Debi, aunt of Nazir Khagendranarayan, contrived a plot to restore the Nazir to power. There lived a Naga monk named Ganeshgeer at Kedar in Gurla pargana, Rangamati district.[1] He commanded a large following of the sannyasis settled in Kuchbihar, Ghurla, Gayabari and other places lying in the foothills. Marichmati and Bhagwantnarayan *alias* Dangardeo, elder brother of the Nazir, who lived in obscurity at the Nazir's ancestral seat, Balarampur, won over this Sannyasi Ganeshgeer to their interest. They offered him a sum of Rs. 3000 in specie to recruit soldiers and pledged the grant in perpetuity of all the Brahmottar lands assigned to Sarwananda in the event of the success of their plan.[2] When the report of Ganeshgeer having begun to levy troops reached him, Sarwananda went to Rangpur for military aid. During his absence, a large body of Sannyasis, estimated at

1. M.C.R., II, 164.
2. R. D. R. VI, letters No. 185, 197.

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between seven to eight hundred men, infiltrated in to Kuchbihar[1] and made a sudden raid on the Rajbati at day-streak on 12th June, 1787. They had previously suborned Subedar Gulab Singh, in charge of the palace guards, to their side ; they, therefore, forced their way in without any opposition. The Rani with the minor Raja and her mother fled for shelter to the temple of Madanmohan, but were apprehended and taken prisoner as they attempted to escape. They were then sent to Balarampur and kept there in confinement under strict guard.

Kuchbihar formed a protectorate of the Company and Macdowall, the Collector of Rangpur, on hearing of the Sannyasis' audacious raid on 14th June, took immediate steps for the liberation of the minor Raja. He called for a detachment of sepoys from Dinajpur, addressed a strong letter of remonstrance in the name of Nazir Deo for the delivery of the Raja and made offers of money to Ganeshgeer "to desist so desperate a cause".[2] The insurgents refused to give in.

The river Teesta, like the river Damodar in west Bengal, is the river of sorrow in north Bengal. It causes havoc by its annual floods. In 1787 this capricious stream had risen several times between the 26th March and the middle of June and brought unprecedented calamity and sufferings upon the people.[3] Partly encouraged by the inundation, which dislocated communication and increased the disaffection of the landlords, and partly by the successful coup of the Sannyasi, which must have been magnified beyond all proportion in popular imagination, elements hostile to the Company raised their head.

Two persons in particular immortalised by the great novelist Bankimchandra gained distinction at this time by their acts of daring and defiance. One of them was Bhowani Pāthak, originally an inhabitant of Bhojpur in Bihar, and an ally of the fighting faqir leader Majnu Shah. The other was a female named Devi Chowdhurani. Both of them cruised the waterways of north Bengal with their armed convoy of boats. Both were adept in the use of fire arms and both attempted to weaken the Company's foot-hold by assailing the Company's patrol parties and by forcing levy on the marts. Whether they had any complicity with the Kuchbihar rebels is not known. Their activity, however, synchronized with the Kuchbihar outbreak.[4]

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1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid*, 185.
3. R. D. R. VI, pp. 196, 239, 243.
4. R. D. R. VI 209, 211 ; Glazier, *Rangpur District Gazetteer*, 41-42.

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While measures were planned to deal with these disturbances, the Kuchbihar rising assumed formidable proportions. The rebels mustered a force of about six to seven thousand men and Macdowall called in Lt. Brenan's detachment from Silberis. The flood interfered with their movement. Lt. Hill commanding the Dinajpur detachment reached Nazirganj, an important outpost leading to Balrampur, at the end of July. On 29th July Sazawal Zabardast Singh, belonging to Lt. Hill's detachment, had a scuffle with the rebel force of 2000 men in which the latter was defeated. Bhagwantnarayan and Ganeshgeer rushed with a force of 3000 men and recaptured Nazirganj from Zabardast Singh, but were dislodged, as soon as Lt. Hill joined Zabardast Singh.[1]

Checkmated on this side Ganeshgeer gained minor triumphs elsewhere. At a place called Ballahat-golah the Sannyasis engaged and defeated the Raja's force consisting of "a Naik, two battalions of sepoys, three of the Raja's household sepoys and seventy *barqandazes*." In the skirmish that ensued, the naik was wounded and put to flight; three sardars were killed and the chief of the party, Durjan Singh, was surrounded and taken prisoner. At another place, Tufanganj, only three miles north-east of Balarampur, the Sannyasis drove out the Sazawal's men acting on behalf of the Raja, but a party consisting of 32 rank and file under a Jamadar deputed by Lt. Hill recaptured the place.[2]

Tufanganj was an important outpost on the river Roydak commanding communication with the small hill estates lying at the foothills and the picket was deputed especially to prevent the surreptitious removal of the minor Raja along this route to the hill rajas beyond and also the expected assault of a body of 500 Sannyasis under Ganeshgeer. This place, therefore, became the scene of another duel between the Raja's partisans and the Sannyasis. About the middle of July, Ensign Duncanson, commanding the Raja's household troops, proceeded in a boat with a Havildar and 12 sepoys towards Tufanganj to take command of the post, when he was fired upon by a party of Sannyasis concealed in a jungle on the river bank. The oarsmen (*dandies*) immediately sprang into the water and the boat was carried by the current to the opposite bank. Duncanson, confronted with the enemy, stood his ground but a Jamadar with 32 sepoys came from Tufanganj, which was only a mile distant from the place of fighting, to his aid and dispersed the Sannyasis. According to Duncanson thirteen of the

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1. R. D. R. VI Lns. 220, 223, 229.
2. Rangpur Collector's letters to the G. G., Ist August, 1787.

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Sannyasis were left dead. By the end of August Capt. Rotton, deterred for a long time by flood from march, advanced to Balarampur.

He put pickets round the place and demanded the surrender of the captive Raja and his mother. Ganeshgeer and Muchinlal (Makhanlal ?), the chief of the *barqandazes* on the side of Nazir Deo, now brought to bay, parleyed for terms with the vakils, Suddhagir and Ghiyasuddin deputed by Rotton. They manœuvred for some time with proposals varying from the investment of Nazir Deo's son "with the management of the Kuchbihar territory to obtaining forgiveness of their crime."[1]

On the 28th August, the conference between the two parties broke up at about mid-night. Shortly after Capt. Rotton's Vakil had left for his camp, an alarm was raised, saying, "They are carrying away the Raja and the Rani." Inchharam Subedar and the Jamadar of the *barqandazes* at once marched in the direction from where the alarm came and sprang upon the very house in which the Raja and the Rani were kept confined. A scuffle ensued. Muchinlal was struck down, as he levelled his spear and, according to Capt. Rotton's report, thirty Sannyasis fell in the fighting, while a number of men who attempted to escape across the river were drowned.

The leaders of the rebellion, Dangar Deo, Ganeshgeer[2] Visnugeer[3] and Akhilgeer were found out after a long search and taken prisoner along with others in 1787.[4] Ganeshgeer died within a year of his incarceration. The other arrested persons were brought up for trial and sentenced to various terms of punishment in 1789. Golabgeer, Subangsageer, Uttamgeer, Khush-hal Khan, Kishanpuri, Himmatgir, Gauri, Basigeer, Amargeer, Swarupgeer, Raghuvirgeer, Sukhlalgeer, Tilakgeer, Mangeer, Dharamgeer, Mohangeer, Parsuram-mahesgeer, Shyamsundargeer,

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1. Rangpur Collector's letters to G.G., 1st August, 1787.

2. Macdowall, Collector of Rangpur, wrote to Lord Cornwallis, G.G., on 30th August, 1787, as follows :—

"The Head Sunnyasi Ganeshgir who is taken prisoner and whose obstinacy has been the main cause of prolonging the capitivity of the Raja and the Rany ought to be punished in the most exemplary manner as a warning to the whole tribe of fakeers."

3. Raghunath Bakshi, Rajaninath Barakayeth and Mukundram, witnesses on behalf of the Kuchbihar Raja, charged Sannyasis' Bissengeer (Visnugeer) and Mohangeer before commissioners Mercer and Chauvet with their having brandished sword at the Raja and Rani during the period of their captivity at Balarampur (M. C. R. II, 121, 122, 124).

4. O. C. 29, Rev. Procgs.

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Sukhramgeer, Premgeer, Mankutgeer, Bhupengeer, Achalgir, Visnugeer, Durjan Singh, Ramnamgeer Sannyasi and *barqandazes* were awarded 39 stripes each and confined for two months, while Ramjibangeer, Shivnath, Qaderdad Khan, Jitramgeer, Motiram Jagannathgeer, Devigeer, Chanakgeer, Sagargeer, Bodhigeer, Buddhageer, Sadanandagir were set at liberty.[1]

ABBREVIATIONS

O. C. (Original Consultation)

Rev. Procgs. (Revenue Proceedings)

M. C. R. (Mercer and Chauvets' Report)

R. D. R. (Rangpur District Record)

1. O. C. 14th Oct., 1789.

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Raghubir Library, Sitamau (Madhya Pradesh)

By

N. B. ROY

[The writer speaks in highly appreciative terms of the large library, which Kumar Raghubir Singh has built up at his native town, Sitamau.

At a time when science and technology are so much in the fore-front, it is refreshing to come across institutions, which are dedicated to the cause of historical research. The Raghubir Library is the result of the patient and unostentations labours extending over two decades and considerable expenditure on the part of Kumar Raghubir Singh, a descendant of the erstwhile ruling house of Sitamau. While preparing his thesis *Malwa in Transition* for the D. Litt. degree, he had the privilege of coming in to contact with Acharya Jadunath Sarkar and got his inspiration for historical research from the master. Besides cultivating belles-lettres in Hindi, the Kumar has been devoting his spare time to historical studies about Malwa.

The library is stocked not only with published works bearing on the history of Malwa, but also contains abundant source material for reconstructing the history of that region in recent times in the form of manuscripts in Persian, Hindi and Marathi as well as bardic compositions. The library has also acquired a vast mass of original documents on Maratha history known as the Athale and Gulgule daftar, which are a store house of information for the history of the Maratha chieftains and diplomats in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. *Ed.*]

A feature of the Indian Renaissance in the 19th century, like that of the Italian in the 15th, was the fervour it aroused among the intellectuals to go back to the roots of the ancient culture of the land for which purpose the discovery and study of the old manuscript records was taken up in earnest. The last century saw not only an expansion of the existing manuscript libraries in our country such as that of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, but also the foundation of new ones such as that of the Oriental Public Library, better known as the Khudabakhsh Library, at Bankipore and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona.

Due to various causes, the chief of which is perhaps the change in social and political outlook, the spirit of search for and collection of old manuscripts, coins and inscriptions and storing them in buildings, is now almost dead, being rarely noticeable in private individuals. Happily one of the exceptions to this spirit is Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau.

Springing from the Rathor royal family of Sitamau, lying within twenty miles of Mandasor in Malwa, this amiable and unpretentious prince has built up within two decades a splendid collection of books and manuscripts bearing mainly on medieval Indian history.

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This prince, barely fifty years of age at present, obtained the M.A. degree from the Agra University in 1934. Later on his great interest in the history of Malwa inspired him to historical research. Admitted as an apprentice to the master historian, Dr. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, he prepared a learned work *Malwa in Transition* in 1937 by exploring Persian, Marathi and Hindi sources and obtained the D. Litt. degree from the University of Agra.

Kumar Saheb has taken keen interest in public affairs as well. Being the eldest son of his father, Maharaja Ram Singh, he was obliged to participate in the administration of his state and inaugurate beneficent reforms. After the integration of the state with Madhya Bharata he was elected a member of the Council of State. In the course of the last war during 1940-42, he also acquired experience in military duties by serving as an emergency commissioned Major in the Indian Observer Corps.

Being one who derives joy from hard work, the Kumar is constantly at his desk, writing out his theses either in defence or refutation of some measure in the parliament or stringing his thoughts together in what he calls his prose poems. His Hindi works have made him well known in Hindi literary circles and his work in the parliament was appreciated by his appointment as a delegate to the U.N.O. last year.

The legislative and literary work apart, his chief title to distinction lies in his building up a library after his name which bids fair to become a central institution for Madhya Bharata. If the project of preparing a comprehensive history of the classical land of Malwa acquires a concrete shape, the Raghubir Library will surely be the quarry for materials for such an enterprise. A critical study of the early history of Malwa is available in general histories, and in select studies like the *Pramaras of Malwa*, but a coherent narrative of medieval Malwa, especially under the Khalji Sultans, is lacking. The fact that Malwa under them became "an object of envy to Shiraz and Samarqand" is overlooked. A new capital grew up at Mandu which justified the name of *Shadiabad* (the city of joy) by being beautified with palaces and academies of learning. A significant fact in this unwritten chapter of the history of Malwa was the important role played by the Purbiya Rajputs under Rai Silhadi and his son, Medini Rai. Students willing to resuscitate this lost chapter of history will be obliged to visit the Raghubir Library for its wealth of rare manuscripts on Malwa and contemporary history of Gujarat.

For the history of the pre-Mughal period, the Raghubir Library has got all the printed Persian texts published by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and complete set of its journals, with transcripts of rare works

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like the Letters of Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru (*Mushaat-i-Mahru*), *the Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi*, the original of which is in the Aligarh University collection, and some other manuscripts.

The uniqueness of this library lies, however, in its exceptionally rich hoard of manuscripts for reconstructing the history of the latter half of the seventeenth century and the whole of the eighteenth. Towards the close of the seventeenth century the empire of Delhi disintegrated under the impact of new forces generated by Aurangzeb's reactionary policy. The subdued races such as the Rajputs, the Bundelas and the Marathas were inspired by an urge for self-expression which resulted, among other things, in the efflorescence of a historical literature in Rajasthani, Hindi and Marathi. On account of the assemblage of a mass of manuscript sources in these languages as well as in Persian, the Raghubir Library has become a centre of attraction for all students of pre-British India.

Rajkumar Raghubir is a prolific writer in Hindi and has written a number of essays, historical treatises and novels. He has also translated Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb* in to Hindi. His love for his own vernacular has naturally prompted him to acquire a large number of printed publications in Hindi and many historical manuscripts, along with *khyat* and *bat* (bardic compositions) and *bansavalis* (genealogical accounts). The importance of the latter class of manuscripts as sources of history is, no doubt, negligible. There is, as Col. Tod says, "a sort of compact or understanding between the bard and the prince, whereby the fidelity of the poetic chronicle is somewhat impaired.....Still, however, these chronicles dare utter truths, sometimes most unpalatable to their masters. When offended or actuated by a virtuous indignation against immorality, they are fearless of consequences." Manuscripts of this kind in the Raghubir Library, e.g. *Kaviraja's Khyat*, the importance of which is noticed by Prof. Sriram Sharma in his *Bibliography of Mughal India*, pp. 152-153, are deemed to be valuable. In respect of documents related to Maratha history, the Raghubir Library possesses all the printed works of Rajwade and Parsanis and *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, edited by Dr. G. S. Sardesai. It is, however, singular in its acquisition of a vast mass of original documents on Maratha history, such as the *Athale* and the *Gulgule Daftar*.

The Athale records are so called from the name of Sri Krisna Vithal Athale, a scholar of Marathi history, who collected and copied a mass of original documents bearing on the history of the Marathas in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. These documents now form a

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most valuable element of the Marathi collection of Raghubir Library. It is, however, the Gulgule Daftar which ranks the highest in importance owing to the light which it throws on eminent Maratha chieftains and diplomats.

Ananda Rao Phalke of the defunct Gwalior State Service was the first Marathi scholar to bring out in print a total of 960 letters in three volumes. The remaining mass of papers amounting to about five thousand folios lay tucked away in bundles. These documents were written in Modi character which it was difficult to decipher. Thanks to the Kumar's unbounded love for old documents, he got them transcribed in Devanagari script and typed in triplicate and supplied one set of these to the historian recluse of Kamshet, Dr. G. S. Sardesai. He sorted out these documents chronologically with the help of the data embodied in the letters themselves and has made them available for the use of scholars by adding a summary and an explanatory note to each letter.

It is, thus, primarily due to Dr. Raghubir's enterprise that the entire contents of this Daftar lie revealed to the historians and students will find in them gems of historical data bearing upon (i) the early career of Mahadji Sindhia upto 1767, and his closing years, when he devoted his diplomatic skill to put the Peshwa's government on a stable footing, (ii) the life story of Yeshwant Rao Holker, (iii) the day-to-day activities of the Peshwa Baji Rao II and Daulat Rao Sindhia (iv) and the career of such Marathi captains as Ambaji Ingle, Lakhwa Dada and Jibva Dada and many other personalities.

The Raghubir Library is a store house not merely of Hindi and Marathi manuscripts of the eighteenth century, but is also a mine of Persian records for the same age. It has been enriched not merely by the transcript of rare Persian chronicles, such as Aqil Khan Razi's *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, Inayetullah Khan's *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, first discovered in the Rampur State Library by Acharya Jadunath Sarkar, but has acquired copies of the Persian manuscripts of the Peshwa Daftar, and the court bulletins of the Mughal emperors, preserved in the Jaipur durbar archives.

The importance of the Jaipur records for the history of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century cannot be overestimated. Lying scattered in loose heaps in the record room, these treasures were opened out to the world of scholarship by the exploring zeal and tenacious efforts of Acharya Jadunath Sarkar.

The aim today is to base history on the most authentic contemporary records and the Jaipur records are documents exactly of this type. They have been described as *Akhbarat* or news-letters, better still as the

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"Minutes of the proceedings of the Mughal emperor in court," for these provide us with an account of the daily transactions of the Mughal court, e.g. appointment and dismissal of officials, their promotion and transfer, gifts and presents tendered to the emperor, the court levees and reviews of the army. There is hardly any matter, however trivial, which is left out in these abstracts of proceedings. As Professor Sri Ram Sharma says, they detail "abnormal birth of more than two children, purgatives taken, bleedings undergone, dreams dreamt of" and so on. They thus supply valuable data for the social, economic and administrative history of the period as well.

Acharya Jadunath Sarkar by his persistent drive and initiative got twenty-nine thousand of these documents sorted out and catalogued. Of these about five thousand were copied out for his use and now form twenty-five volumes. Dr. Raghubir has had the entire mass of these records transcribed. Great credit is due to him for having copied out Jaipur records of the period from 1707-19, totalling 3597 folios, which are not available in the J. N. S. collections.

The Persian documents of the Peshwa Daftar form another important source material for the eighteenth century history of India available in the Raghubir Library. The large mass of the manuscript records, which were split up originally into twenty-nine bundles, were first microfilmed and then enlarged into positive photo prints. They total the enormous number of 15,337 folios covering the period from 1796 to 1817 A. D. Classified into eighty different sections, they yield information not only on the doings of the Peshwa and the Maratha chieftains, but also valuable facts bearing on the Rajput chieftains of Jaipur and Kotah from 1810 to 1817 A.D., the Jat Raja of Bharatpur, the Sikh Raja Ranjit Singh, the Nawabs of Bhopal and Oudh and the Nizam of Hyderabad.

The energies of the nation are now geared up to the mighty task of economic rebuilding of the country and the study of humanities has suffered a recession. The tide, however, is bound to turn. Material comfort by pursuing the path of science is sure to bring in its train intellectual and spiritual atrophy. However, the stifled spirit is sure to seek self-expression in literature, philosophy and a critical examination of texts. Then will the silent work done by Raghubir, without the fanfare of public applause, be realised and appreciated.

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Kannaḍa Literature in Cāḷukya Inscriptions

By

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[In this article Padma Bhushan Nilkanta Śastri describes the high degree of perfection that Kannaḍa literature attained under the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇī as revealed by the contemporary inscriptions. The epigraphic evidence forms the most important source of the history of the literature of the period because in the case of some authors no other account is available. He also points out to the indebtedness of Kannaḍa to Sanskrit, the study of which kept it the "idiom of literary culture." *Ed.*]

Under the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi Kannaḍa literature not only continued to maintain the high quality it had attained under the Rāṣṭrakūtas, but reached even greater perfection of form ; and Sanskrit literature in its different branches was cultivated with assiduity as it was well recognized that without a constant and live contact with Sanskrit, Kannaḍa would soon cease to be the idiom of literary culture and drop to the level of a *patois.* For its grammar, its prosody, its literary models as well as for the subject-matter, Kannaḍa, like any other popular speech in India, looked to Sanskrit for guidance, and gained greatly by doing so. It was the boast of many eminent *litterateurs* of the time that they could compose poems with equal facility in both the languages, and we have several bilingual inscriptions of considerable length which strikingly confirm the truth of the claim ; in them Sanskrit and Kannaḍa verse and prose mingle in an amiable and pleasant confusion without the reader feeling the slightest break in the sequence of thought or flow of expression. Indeed, of some authors we have no other knowledge than what the inscriptions composed by them tell us, and it may be useful to give here a brief account of the more notable instances of these and of other writers known from the inscriptions.

The Sogal (Belgaum distt.) inscription of Ś. 902 of the time of Taila[1] is described as a Kāvyādeśa composed by Kavi Kamalāditya ; this long Kannaḍa inscription of thirty verses in different meters—the few formal Sanskrit verses may be ignored—recording the foundation myth of the Suvarṇākṣi temple, and describing its beauties in some detail, is a good specimen of the old Kannaḍa poetry of its time. Kavirāja Vallabha Kappaṇabhaṭṭa was the author (*likhitam*) of an inscription in prose and

1. E. I. XVI pp. 3-6.

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verse from Kuppagaḍḍe[1] (Sorab tq. Shimoga) of A. D. 1032. A work on dance (Bharata) seems to be attributed to a certain Ēcama who is said to have caused the creeper of *Bharata-āgama* to sprout forth once more on earth ; the statement occurs in an inscription of A. D. 1041.[2]

The Bodhan inscription of A.D. 1056 of the time of Someśvara I ends with the statement that it was written (*likhitam*) by Nāgadeva, described as *biruda-lekhaka-girivajram*, i.e., the thunderbolt to the mountains viz. the writers of *birudas*; but one may doubt if *likhita* and *lekhaka* here refer to mere copying work of a clerk or the actual composition of the record ; the inscription is in a bad state of preservation and cannot lay claim to any great literary merit.[3] Of far more interest is the Beḷatūru inscription (A.D. 1057)[4] composed by Malla, poet and friend of poets, on the death of Dēkabbe when her husband Ēcha was sentenced to death and the sentence was executed at Taḷakāḍ ; she entered the fire pit, and did it unmindful of the protests of his parents and relatives ; the verses in the poem are of high quality, simple and direct, and full of pathos ; metrically also the composition is interesting for the use of the metres Akkaram and Lalitavṛttam. Strictly this is a Cōḷa inscription, for it is dated in the reign of Rājēndra II, and he was king who ordered the execution of Ēcha ; but Gangavāḍi was so often changing hands in this period, and no survey of Kannaḍa language and literature in the eleventh cenury can omit to notice this fascinating inscription. 'The mirror of poets' (*Kavi-mukha-darpaṇam*) Barmmayadeva composed a prose inscription of A.D. 1061[5] from the Bellary district, and it falls far short of the expectations raised by the title. Divākaranandi mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1062[6] was the author of a commentary in Kannaḍa on the *Tattvārthasūtra*, a Sanskrit manual of Jainism by Gṛdhrapiñchācārya ; in the colophons to the commentary Divākaranandi gets the titles Bhaṭṭāraka and Munīndra.

Mallinātha, the author of two inscriptions[7] bearing the same date (1062), was the son of Nokka who was a *paṭṭanasvāmi* and *dānapati* under Birā Santāradeva in the reign of Trailokyamalla Someśvara I. Candrabhaṭṭa, Balabhadradeva and Rājavallabha were authors of an inscription from Hoṭṭūr (Dharwad distt.) dated A.D. 1067.[8]

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1. E. C. viii Sb. 184.
2. KKC , i, 74-5.
3. Hyd. Ar. Ser. No. 7.
4. E I. VI. pp. 213-9.
5. S. I. I. IX (i) 125.
6. EC. VIII Nr. 57.
7. EC. VIII Nr. 57-58.
8. E. I. XVI p. 83.

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Śāntinātha, a famous Jaina controversialist and author, finds prominent mention in an inscription from Shikarpur[1] dated A.D. 1068 at the beginning of the reign of Bhuvanaikamalla Someśvara II ; he held the place of *arthādhikāri* of Banavase under Lakṣmaṇabhūpa, the loyal and efficient general of Someśvara ; he was the pupil of Vardhamāna Vrati, an able judge, a devout Jaina who purified the doctrine by casting out the impurities due to heretical speculations, and a poet by nature (*sahajakavi*). He was the author of *Sukumāra-carita*, a *campū* available now only in incomplete manuscripts, giving apparently in twelve *āśvāsas* the story of the renunciation of a prince. The author of the *Candracūḍāmaṇi-śataka*, a century of verses in easy style in the *mattebha* metre treating of the ethics of renunciation was Nāgavarmācārya who states in his work that he was a *sandhivigrahi* under Udayāditya, and that his elder brother Bhāskara was *rāyabhāri* under the same prince ; this author and his patron were doubtless identical with the Nāgavarmācārya who had the title *advaiti-guṇa-galla*, and the Ganga Udayāditya, feudatory of Someśvara II ruling Banavase, Santālige and Naṇḍali in A D. 1070, both mentioned in another inscription from Shikarpur.[2]

A Bammara Hariyaṇṇa composed an inscription recording the erection in Kuppaṭūru of a Brahmajinālaya by Māḷaladevī, the queen of Kadamba Kīrttideva in A. D. 1075[3]. In the same year Kavi Vaijanātha figures as the author of a long inscription containing some good Kannaḍa verse besides the formal prose sections ; it records the gift of a village to a Śaiva temple at Vikrampura and the *maṭha* attached to it[4] ; the record is incomplete as some lines are lost at its beginning. The Hadali inscription of A.D. 1084[5] containing some good poetry and recording a gift to Gaurīśvaradeva was written by Karparasa, the *aliya* (son-in-law) of Kālidāsa ; his father, Candra, it has been suggested, might be identical with the author of the *Madanatilaka*.[6] The Jaina poet Dāmarāja composed an inscription found in Shimoga and recording the construction and endowment of a *basadi* by Nokkaya, the Ganga feudatory of Vikramāditya VI.[7] Senabova Mādimayya is called *Kāvyanāṭka-kāra*, author of poems and dramas, in an inscription of A.D. 1098 from the Madras Manuscripts library, but his works are not

1. EC. VII SK. 136,
2. *Ibid* SK. 129.
3. EC., VIII, Sb. 262.
4. S. I. I. XI (1) 115.
5 I. A. xiii p. 91,
6. KCC. i. p. 97.
7. EC. VIII, Shimoga 10.

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known.[1] A long inscription of A.D. 1099 comes from Kuruvatti (Bellary distt.),[2] and is said to have been composed by Śrīkaṇṭhasūri, 'the bright ear-ornament of the goddess of learning.' The record is in a fair state of preservation, and contains some Sanskrit verses besides the usual formal citation, and among them is an *anuṣṭhup* verse coming after the invocation to Śambhu borrowed from Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*[3] and closely modelled on it; while Bāṇa's verse describes Śambhu as the mainstay (*mūlastambha*) of the universe, Śrīkaṇṭha's makes him the *pūrṇakumbha*; the inscription records the genealogy of general Kālidāsa and mentions several members of the spiritual lineage to which Lakulīśvarapaṇḍita of the locality belonged, and its language is not devoid of literary merit. Mallikārjunabhaṭṭa, with titles *āśukavī-niṭilāksha* (Śiva among extemporé poets) and *sukavīndra-ṣaṇmukha* (Subrahmaṇya among good poets), was the author of two inscriptions dated A.D. 1102[4] and 1112 from Balligāve, both donative records of the Kedāreśvara temple. Ajarāja and Mallideva were joint authors of an Abbalūr inscription of C. V. Year 26[5] recording the gift by Govindarasa of a village to the Brahmeśvarasthāna of Abbalūr, handing it over to the Śaivācārya Someśvara-paṇḍita. Mādirāja (1123), author of the inscription which mentions him,[6] and Mahāprabhu Keśirāja (1124)[7] are other names from the inscriptions of the reign of Vikramāditya VI.

Viṣṇudaṇḍādhipa (1130), praised for his proficiency in the *Upaniṣads* and belles-letters (*kāvya*),[8] and Samaatamahamta (1137)[9] are the authors of some Hoysala inscriptions, while an Abbalūr inscription (1144) of the time of Jagadekamalla II was the work of a Mahādevabhaṭṭa.[10] Other minor poets of the reign of the same emperor were Sukara-Sukavi-Kaṇṭhābharaṇa (1145), a *protégé* of Ekkaledeva;[11] Madhusūdanadeva, the teacher of Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya, and author of an inscription of A.D. 1147,[12] a Kavi

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1. KKC. i. 99.
2. S. I. I. IX (1)—165.
3. The opening verse of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* is also cited in some inscriptions e.g., S.I.I. IX (1) 223; and BK 116 of 1932-3.
4. Ec. VII S K. 98 and 99.
5. E. I. V. p 231.
6. EC. XI Dg. 2.
7. EC. VII Ci. 61.
8. EC. VI Cm. 137.
9. EC. IV. Ng. 28.
10. E.I. V. p. 234.
11. EC. viii. Sb. 138.
12. EC. xi, Dg. 41.

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Kālidāsa mentioned in a Chikmagalūr inscription of the same date;[1] and Mukhya Paṇḍita, described as a good poet in Kannaḍa, in an inscription from Lakshmeśvar, also of 1147.[2] Śankara Vibudha mentioned in a Sorab record of A.D. 1150,[3] and Bhāskara, the author of an inscription of the reign of Someśvara IV (A.D. 1186)[4] from the Bellary district are the only other notable names; Bhāskara describes himself as capable of silencing bad poets (*kukavimukhamudra*) in a Sanskrit verse at the end of his inscription devoted to a condemnation of plagiarism among poets; this in the true style of Bāṇa who seems to have been cherished as the ideal author. There are other names, particularly of *praśasti-kāras* to be gathered from the contemporary inscriptions of the Hoysalas, Kadambas and other feudatory dynasties. Two or three more writers call for a brief notice. Bijjaya-nāyaka who built two stone temples in the Bijapur district in the reign of the Kalacūrya Rāyamurāri Sovideva in A. D. 1172 is described as *Kannaḍa Bāṇa* and *sāhitya-vidyādhara*, and though his works seem to be no longer extant, he must have been a conspicuous literary figure in his day.[5] Boppaṇa Paṇḍita composed a *stuti* (praise) in twenty-seven Kannaḍa verses celebrating the Gommaṭa of Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa at the request (*niyoga*) of Adhyātmi Bālacandra, as we learn from an inscription of about A.D. 1180 from that place.[6] Boppaṇa was also the author of a *Nirvāṇa-Lakshmīpatī-nakṣatramālike*, and perhaps of some other works. A number of *Kandas* on *nīti* are attributed to him; he had the title '*sujanottamsa*,' 'the crest jewel of the good.' An inscription of A.D. 1189 from Sorata of the reign of Vīra Someśvara was the joint composition of Kuppatura Chimmara Vāsudeva, Doddara Nācya and Keśavadeva.[7] Lastly, Keśavarāja Chamūpa (c. 1195) who gives a long poetic account of the life of the Śaiva devotee Ekāntada Rāmayya in one of the Abbalūr inscriptions[8] must also find a place among the Kannaḍa poets of the age of the Caḷukyas though he comes right at the end of it. Fleet identified Keśavarāja with the Cōḷikeya Keśirājayya, ruler of Banavāsi between A.D. 1168 and 1181; but Narasimhachar has questioned this identity and placed the author of the Abbalūr record some twenty years later.

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1. EC. VI Cm. 140.
2. E.I. XVI p. 49, l.64.
3. EC VIII Sb. 19.
4. S.I.I. IX (1) 279.
5. E. I. XV p. 321 vv. 24 and 27. Jāṇan is mistake for Bāṇan in l. 44. Same in l. 54.
6. EC II, 234; KKC I. p. 279.
7. EC. viii, Sb. 179.
8. E.I.V. p. 252, l. 101. KKC i, 297.

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Chronology of Idealist Thinkers

By

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[The learned writer, Dr. Ṣ'astri, has traced the influence of Brahmanical philosophy in the ideas of the Buddhist Mahāsanghika movement, which subsequently gave birth to the Mahayāna form of Buddhism. He holds the view that Nāgārjuna was the first systematic Buddhist thinker. He has made a remarkable attempt to establish the chronology of the idealist thinkers who flourished in India from 54 B,C. to 1647 A. D. and has also traced the history of action and reaction of the Brahmanical and Buddhist ideas on each other during this long span of time—*Ed.*]

Buddhist idealism entered the field of philosophical investigation with the Mahāsanghikas. The Śaila schools of the Mahāsanghikas belonged to Caityaśaila, Aparaśaila and Uttaraśaila.[1] The *Kathāvatthu* reads *uttaraśaila* erroneously as *uttarāpathaka*. These Śaila schools also included the Pūrvaśaila and Lokottaravādin.[2] All these five were collectively known as Andhakas. Each new sect changed the original texts, their arrangement, language and import.[3]

The Andhakas held that the Buddha's actions are transcendental, though they are viewed as empirical or transcendental in accordance with the object of the action.[4] This is the doctrine of the two degrees of reality which was originally found in the *Upaniṣads* where we are told that we should have both the parā-vidyā and aparā-vidya, These two point to two levels or phases of reality, thereby implying the possibility of at least two types of logico-epistemological enquiries.

The Uttarśaila school held that the Buddhas can have no karuna.[5] Here is the conception of Dharmakaya or Śūnyatā. The conception of dharma-dhātu appears in the inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (dhātuvara parigahita). This conception answers to the Advaitic concept of the Nirguṇa-Brahmaṇ. It is the reality transcending all appearances, though the latter are not outside that reality.

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1. See Masuda : *Asia Major*, II.
2. See Watters : *Yuan Chwang*, II. 214-15.
3. See *Dīpavamsa*, 5. 32-50.
4. *Kathavatthu*, 2. 10.
5. *Ibid*. 18. 3.

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Even householders like Yasa, Uttiyo and Setu have become arhats, as the Uttaraśailīyas said.[1] One of the inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa points out that a householder was a member of the Mahāsanghikas (gahapati putasa dusaka-sa). This conception animates the teachings contained in *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* and *Śrīmālā-sūtra*. These and similar doctrines played a considerable part in the evolution of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The various *Sūtras* or *Sūtrāntas*, that originated as a result of the activities of the Mahāsanghikas, constituted the basis for the logical and metaphysical enquiries of subsequent thinkers; and thus arose not only the Madhyamaka philosophers, but the Vijñānavāda thinkers as well. They tried to do to the *Mahāyāna Sūtras* what Bādarāyaṇa attempted with regard to the major *Upaniṣads*.

Though the earlier *Sūtras* appear to teach Śūnyatā, we have evidence to show that there were also subjective idealists. Vasumitra's treatise on the points of contention among the different schools of Buddhism refers to a Prajñaptivāda which was represented by a section of the Mahāsanghikas in the second century after the Nirvāṇa. According to this old Vijñānavāda, the six organs of sense and the six objects of sense are not real entities.[2] What is real is only the prajñapti or vijñāna. Every thing else is a projection from, or emanation of, this consciousnesss. This doctrine is also traceable to the *Upaniṣads*; and it became more pronounced in the *Lankāvatāra*, Asanga, Vasubandhu and Gauḍapāda.[3]

From various sources we gather that Nāgārjuna brought from the Nāgas the great texts like the *Prajñāpāramitās*, the *Avatamsaka* and the *Saddharma-puṇḍrīka*; and that there were no new *Mahāyāna Sūtras* after him. According to Tārānātha, some of the śrāvakas actually attributed the composition of the *Śatasāhasrikā* to Nāgārjuna. The same Tārānātha tells us that the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* was composed immediately after the time of Mahāpadmananda. 'These *Sūtrāntas*,' says the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, 'will be current in the south after the passing away of the Tathāgata; from the South they will go to the East and from the East to the North.'[4] The Tibetan tradition admits that the Śaila schools had their own Prakrit version of the *Prajñāpāramitā*. We can then believe that Nāgārjuna brought forth these texts written or compiled by the Nāgas in some Prakrit, and that he Sanskritised or edited them. Mahāyāna Buddhism must, therefore, have

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1. *Ibid*, 6. 1.
2. See *Origin and Doctrines* of *Early Indian Schools*, Leipzig, 1925, p. 36.
3. See *MK* 3. 29–30, 4. 47-49, 51, 72.
4. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, 225. ff.

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assumed a definite shape at least by the first century before Christ in the Andhra country which was the centre of the Mahāsanghika movement.[1]

The basic texts of the Mahāyāna assumed a definite form in the Śaila schools. The *Saddharma* and its twenty-fourth chapter entitled *Avalokiteśvara-vikurvaṇa-nirdeśa*, *Avatamsaka sūtra* consisting of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* and *Daśabhūmikā*, and the *Pāramitās* came from the Nāgas of this area through Nāgārjuna. The *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* and *Śrīmāla-sūtra* were foreshadowed in the admission of the householders to the Āryasangha at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The *Parinirvāṇa-sūtra* is the logical outcome of the Andhaka emphasis on Bodhicitta. The *Sukhāvatī-vyūha-sūtra* with its faith in Amitābha, goes to the teacher of Nāgārjuna who lived at Dhānyakaṭaka.[2]

2. Nāgārjuna is the first systematic Buddhist thinker. Though the *Akshayamati-nirdeśa-sūtra* was said to be the basis of his system, his *Madhyamaka-kārikās* provide the logical and metaphysical exposition of the basic *Mahāyāna sūtras*. As Śankara applied the principle of the two vidyās, so did Nāgārjuna the doctrine of the two satyas. With this doctrine he tried to silence all opposition and to build a consistent metaphysical system out of the *Pāramitās* and other *Sūtras*.

South of the capital of Dakshiṇa Kosala was an old monastery in which Nāgārjuna lived, according to Yuan Chwang. To the south-west of this country was placed a mountain called Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li which has been identified with Bhramaragiri. The hills near Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are also called Nalla-malai or black mountains. The row of hills is of the colour of black bees; and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa may have been called Bhramaragiri. But there is a place called Śrīśaila, near modern Kurnool, due south-west of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa exactly by 300 *li* or 50 miles. Here, too, we have a row of hills; and there is still a temple dedicated to Bhramarāmbā This was actually the Bhramaragiri referred to by the Chinese piligrim. The monastery in the Dakshiṇa Kosala would then be identical with Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Even the kings who ruled in this area later in the third and fourth centuries traced their decent from the Ikshvākus and are called Ikshvākus. In later times Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, too, came to be called Śrīparvata or simply Parvata which Fahien misread as *Pāravata*. Śrīparvata and Śrīśaila are apparently synonyms and the Bhramaragiri of Śrīśaila was quietly ignored.

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1. See N. N. Dutt in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, 388.

2. See Sir Charles Eliot: *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III 219. See also Schiefner's *Tāranātha*, 93, 105, 303.

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According to Yuan Chwang the king Sha-to-po-ha (Yincheng) excavated a monastery in Dakshiṇa Kosala and another at Bhramaragiri. I-Tsing gives the personal name of the king as Shi-yen-te-ka while a previous translator gives it as Shan-te-ka. These correspond to Kuntaka, Jetaka, Jivataka, or Śantaka. In Tibetan we have Śāntivāhana, Antivāhana, Śankara and Udayana also. Udayana or Udyana (Oḍiyāna, Urgyān) was one of the names of the area of Dhānyakaṭaka. It was at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa that the 1938 excavation came across the tooth relics which are traditionally believed to be those of Nāgārjuna. Āryadeva's relics, too, were found in the same site. And as the *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang* has it, Nāgārjuna was actually born in a place to the south of, and not in, Vidarbha.[1]

Who was the Śātavāhana king that patronised Nāgārjuna? Here scholars have made all kinds of guesses. According to the *Rājatrangiṇī* the contemporary kings of Kāśmīr during the time of Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna were Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka.[2] Though this is valuable evidence, it does not help us much, since the dates of these kings are not settled beyond dispute, and since the date of the Śātavāhana kings are also controversial. Here we have two more lines of evidence to fix the actual time of Nāgārjuna, the Madhyamaka philosopher.

First we have an external evidence in the form of a Prakrit kāvya entitled *Līlāvatī Pariṇaya.*[3] Līlāvatī, daughter of Silāmegha, king of Ceylon, was brought to the area known as Sapta-godavaram, the Godāvarī delta, by the commander of the king called Vijayānanda;[4] and Hāla, who is described as Sālāhaṇa-narindo[5] and as Sālāhaṇa,[6] is married to her. In this work, which clearly puts Hāla in the modern Godāvarī district in Andhra, we have the following two very interesting verses:

Bahu mannanto tamci a maranam santo sadinna niya hi a o
nāyajjuṇovaroheṇa nigga o niya purā himto
nāyajjuṇa bhikṣu purassareṇa sari tīra santhi o rāyā
vijayānam deva samam vivarā huttam parikkanto.[7]

Here we are definitely told that Bhikshu Nāgārjuna was the teacher and adviser of Hāla. The king listened to Nāgārjuna's advice and turned

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1. See *I. H. Q.* 30. 93-95.
2. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I. 173.
3. Published in *Bharati* (Telugu) of Madras, Vol. 3. Part 1. 3 ff.
4. See verse 190, 242, 1117.
5. See verse 939.
6. See verse 837, 867.
7. Verses 1018, 1019.

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back to his city somewhere near Drākshārāma, where too there existed once a Buddhist monastery.

Hāla ruled only for five years and he must have died quite young. He was followed by Kuntala Śātakarṇi whose name has some similarity with Jetaka or Shiyenteka. It was this Kuntala that was referred to by Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtras*.[1] Here begins our second line of evidence.

Nāgārjuna wrote his *Vigraha-vyāvartanī* in reply to certain criticisms that were levelled against his *Madhyamaka-kārikā*. This is clear from the author's own *vritti* on the 28th verse of *Vigraha-vyāvartanī* where he refers his critic to what he said in the *Madhyamaka-kārikā* XXIV 10. Vātsyāyana observes :

> *Pratyakṣādīnām pramāṇatvam nāsti traikālyāsiddheḥ pūrvāpara sahabhāvanupapatteḥ*[2]

This argument on *traikālyāsiddhi* appears in *Vigraha-vyāvartanī* in the statement of the objection :

> *Pūrvam cet pratiṣedhaḥ paścāt pratiṣedhyam ityanupapannam paścād anupapanno yugapacca yataḥ svabhāvo'sau*[3]

The reply is given in the verses 43, 45, 70 and 71. The 70th verse with its *vritti* has a striking similarity with the wording of Vātsyāyana's statement :

> *Yastraikālye hetuḥ pratyuktaḥ pūrvameva samatvāt*
> *traikālyapratihetuśca śūnyatavādinām prāptaḥ.*

Here Nāgārjuna is evidently having before him the following passage from Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya on 2. 1. 12 :

> *Pūrvam hi pratiṣedhasiddhāvasati pratiṣedhye kim pratiṣidhyate. Paścāt siddhau pratiṣedhyāsiddhiḥ pratiṣedhābhāvāditi. Yugapat siddhau pratiṣedhyasiddhyabhyanujñānādanarthakaḥ pratiṣedha iti. Pratiṣedhalakṣaṇe ca vākye'nupapadyamāne siddham pratyakṣādīnām pramāṇatvamiti.*

Nāgārjuna holds that this refutation is faulty because it implies the assumption on the part of the opponent of the *traikālya-parīkṣā*. This is clearly referred to by Uddyotakara. This reveals that Nāgārjuna is directly replying to the points raised by the Nyāya-bhāṣya.

When we look to the prāmāṇya-vāda, we find that Nāgārjuna is actually quoted in rhe pūrvapaksha by Vātsyāyana. The former states (verses 31-32) :

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1. See *Kāmasūtra*, 2. 7, 2. 28.
2. On N. S. 2. 1. 8.
3. Verse 20.

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Yadi ca pramāṇatasteṣām teṣām prasiddhirarthānām
teṣām punaḥ prasiddhim brūhi katham teṣām niḥpramāṇānām.
Anyairyadi pramāṇaiḥ pramāṇasiddhirbhavatyanavasthānādeḥ
siddhistatrāsti naiva madhyasya nāntasya.

If the validity of one *pramāṇa* is to be established by another, then it leads to an infinite regress. The Nyāya Bhāṣya has the following on 2. 1. 17 :

Yadi pratyakṣādīni pramāṇenopalabhyante. Yena pramāṇenopalabhyante tat pramāṇāntaram astīti pramāṇāntara sadbhāvaḥ prasajyata ityanavasthām āhatasyāpyanyenatasyāpyanyeneti. Na cānavasthā śakyānujnātum anupapatteriti.

The wording here is highly reminiscent of Nāgārjuna. But under the next sutra Vātsyāyana argues about the consequences of a pramāṇasiddhi even without a pramāṇa :

Yadi pratyakṣādyupalabdhau pramāṇāntaram nivartate, ātmādyupalabhāvapi pramāṇāntaram nirvartsyatyaviśeṣāt.

Nāgārjuna's position on this point is clearly given in the 45th verse :

Yadi ca prameyasiddhiranapekṣvaiva bhavati pramāṇāni
Kim te pramāṇasiddhyā tāni yadartham prasiddham tat.

These passages are so baffling that one cannot definitely say as to who borrowed from whom. In the 14th verse Nāgārjuna admits that there may be an objection to the effect that if there are no pramāṇas, there can be no nogation of the pramāṇas :

Nanvevam satyasti grāho grāhyam ca tadgrihītam ca
pratiṣedhaḥ pratiṣedhyam pratiṣeddhā ceti ṣaṭkam tat.

This was actually Vātsyāyanas objection stated on 2. 1. 13 :

Traikalyāsiddhirityasya hetoḥ yadyudāharaṇam upādīyate hetvarthasya sādhakatvam driṣṭānte darśayitavyamiti, na ca tarhi pratyakṣādīnām aprāmāṇyam. Athapratyakṣadīnāmaprāmāṇyam. Upādīyamānamapyudāharaṇam nārtham sādhayisyatīti so'yam sarvapramāṇavyāhato heturahetuḥ.

The objection stated by Nagarjuna goes back to Vātsyāyana. The *Nyāya-bhāṣya* on II, i. 19 has similarly a close relation to the entire argument of the *Vigraha-vyāvartanī*, These facts show that Vātsyāyana wrote his *Nyāya-bhāṣya* after the *Madhyamaka-kārikās*, that Nāgārjuna knew the *Nyāya-bhāṣya* and answered it in *Vigraha-vyāvartanī*, that Vātsyāya later knew the *Vigraha-vyāvartanī* and tried to answer the criticism by amending and expanding his own text, and that Nāgārjuna had to come forth with a *vritti* on his later text to defend his position from the attack of his Nyāya rival. These two great thinkers were exact contemporaries. Their philosophical career extended during the reigns of Hāla, Kuntaka and their successors.

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Finally there is the *Ratnāvalī* written by Nāgārjuna as a piece of advice to a young king. The commentator Ajitamitra says that this king was the same to whom the *Śiṣyalekhā* was addressed. Besides giving the young ruler a series of moral principles, Nāgārjuna throws an interesting light on the state of things prevailing at that time. He elaborately criticises the false doctrines, condemns the atheist (I. 57), advises the king not to be misled by the self-seeking ministers and elders, and declares :

Durlabhāḥ pathyavaktāraḥ śrotārastvati durlabhāḥ.....
pathyamapyapriyam tasmājjñātvā śīghram samācara...'[1]

Apparently persons like Nāgārjuna who are the pathya-vaktās are rare[2] ; and the king is surrounded by those who do not wish the good of the king. The good that Nāgārjuna can offer is treated as unpalatable.[3] He wants the king to abstain from drink.[4] He admits that non-Buddhists have come to power, and that they are abusing the Mahāyāna.[5] Statements like these show that the king to whom this letter was addressed broke away from the faith of his father, grandfather and others, and that he became Brahmanical. In a desparate bid to have royal support for the Buddhist church, Nāgārjuna was addressing such letters to that king.

According to the *Purāṇas* there were three kings after Kuntala ; and the fourth was Gautamīputra who styled himself as 'eka-Brāhmaṇa', thereby meaning that he was the first in the remembered history of his family to come back to the Brahmanical faith. Nāgārjuna's letters were addressed to this young king when Nāgārjuna was very well advanced in years. Assuming that the first Andhra king came to power in 271 B. C, Hāla must have been on the throne in 10 A. D., while Gautamīputra ascended the throne in 70 A.D. By 70 A.D., Nāgārjuna could very well have been ninety years old.

3. Nāgārjuna's great disciple was Āryadeva who carried on the message of the master. Even Voharaka Tissa Raja listened to the discourse of Thera Deva at Kambugāma and thereafter he not only repaired five edifices, but also kept up daily alms for him at Mucilapattana.[6]

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1. *Ratnāvali*, 2. 41-42.
2. *Ibid.* 4 3 : *'aham eko vadāmi tvam pathyam apyapriyam bhrisam.'*
3. *Ibid.* 2. 42.
4. *Ibid.* 2. 46.
5. *Ibid.* 4. 79, 80. See also 4. 89—*'Mahāyāno yato dveṣo nātmakāmaiḥ krito 'rhati.*
6. See *Mahāvamsa*, 144.

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This is the modern Masulipatam. Though some scholars are eager to locate him in Ceylon or in Orissa, the *Mahāvamśa* places him in Masulipatam, which lies due north of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Śrīśailam. Then it becomes easier to account for Candrakīrti's statement that Āryadeva came southwards to meet Nāgārjuna.

The minister of Indrabodhi of Dhānyakaṭaka found out a maiden called Bhāsadhara, daughter of Candrakumāra, king of Singala. This Singala was also called Sagāla, and it was located near Urgyan or Oḍiyān which was the name of the area round Dhānyakaṭaka.[1] Though the *Manjuśrīmūlakalpa* gives the name of the place as Saihnika-pura, the Tibetan sources refer to it as Sen-ga-glin. Yuan Chwang speaks of Deva P'usa of Chi-shih-zu-kuo which may be a transliteration or a rendering of Simhadharaputrapura.[2] The *Brihatkathā* observes that Dīpakarṇi was told in a dream that he would see on the next day a boy carried by a lion (śāta) and that he must adopt him as his son. Dīpakarṇi, on the next day, saw the lion bringing a boy on its back, and adopted him. This boy was called Śātavāhana because he was borne by a lion (śāta). The family accordingly originated from a Simhadhara, and the successors of the first Śātavāhana are Simhadharaputras. Āryadeva then belongs to the original town of the Śātavāhanas. This town answering to Sen-ga-glin or Sagāla is Śrīkākulam, near Masulipatam and is in the Krishna delta whence it can be referred to as an island.

If we are correct in dating Nāgārjuna from 20 B.C. to 70 A.D., we can place Āryadeva between 230 A.D. and 110 A.D.

4. Amongst the contemporaries of Āryadeva we find Vasumitra, the author of the *Aṣṭādaśa-nikāya-śāstra*. To the same period belong Dharma trāta and Ghoṣaka. The latter's *Abhidharmāmrita-śāstra* was rendered into Chinese between 220 and 265 A.D. during the rule of the Wei dynasty. Vātsyāyana was a contemporary of Nāgārjuna ; and it was probably during the time of Āryadeva that the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* came into vogue. The doctrine of the Lankā was fresh in the minds of the people and it was gathering new adherents. It was at this time that Śabara composed his great commentary on the *Mīmāṁsā-sūtras*. Śabara gave a new direction to Mīmāṁsā epistemology by his eagerness to refute the Vijñānavāda. This is not the Vijñānavāda of Asanga and Vasubandhu, but an older one represented by the Prajñapti-vāda of the Mahāsanghikas and by the Lankā. Śabara's date would then be 100-180 A.D.

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1. See Evans-Wentz : *The Tibetan Book of Great Liberation*, 113, 156-7.
2. See Watters, II. 320.

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In the genealogical line of disciples from Āryadeva we have Rāhulabhadra, Rāhulamitra, Nāgamitra and Sangharakṣita. Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka were the disciples of Sangharakṣita who was a younger contemporary of Asanga (220-300 A.D.). Sthiramati and Dinnāga were the contemporaries of Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka; and Buddhapālita's pupil was Candrakīrti's teacher.

5. A little before Asanga's time we have Īśvarakriṣṇa, the author of the *Sānkhya-kārikā*. This text was commented on by Māṭhara and Gauḍapāda, and it was translated in to Chinese by Paramārtha (499-569 A.D.). The period of Vātsayāyana, Praśastapāda and Śabara evoked a new form of philosophical exposition in the shape of verses. These verses are designed to express briefly and concisely each system of thought. Thus arose the *Ādhāra-kārikās* known as *Paramārtha-sāra* in Vedānta, the *Sānkhya-kārikās* and the like. This exposition may have been influenced by the fact that Nāgārjuna was the first great thinker to use this form; and it received a great impetus at the hands of Gauḍapāda. *Paramārtha-sāra, Sānkhya-kārikā* and *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā* belong to the same period; and to the same period we can assign, from the standpoint of form, style and method, the works entitled *Abhisamayālamkāra, Mahāyāna-sūtrālamkāra, Trimśikā, Vimśikā* and the like. Even Māṭhara does not mention Vriṣagaṇa and his disciple Vindhyavāsin who must have come long after Īśvarakriṣṇa.

Vindhyavāsin was attacked by Vasubandhu who was reputed to have written *Paramārtha-saptati* after the former's death, according to the testimony of Paramārtha. It was Vindhyavāsin who tried to amend the Sānkhya doctrine by denying the reality of the subtle body.[1] The so-called Īśvarakriṣṇa who, on Tibetan authority, quarrelled with Dinnāga, was not the author of the *Sānkhya-kārikā*; he may have been Īśvarasena or some one else. Īśvarakriṣṇa taught a doctrine that was altered by Vindhyavāsin and others probably under Buddhist influence. Even a Madhyamaka thinker like Bhāvaviveka was reputed to have been once a Sānkhya teacher. Possibly, the Sānkhya and the Madhyamaka teachers allied with one another to combat the rising tide of the Yogācāra school. In this make up Vindhyavāsin and others could easily have denied the reality of the subtle body. Vindhyavāsin (220-290 A D.) was an elder contemporary of Vasubandhu. He was reported to have defeated Buddhamitra (210-280 A. D.), the teacher of Vasubandhu, in a debate. His name was Rudrila, according to Kamalaśīla. His teacher Vriṣagaṇa

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1. See SV 393, 704; *Sānkhya-kārika* 5, 39-41; T. S. 636.

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(190-260 A.D.) may then be a younger contemporary, if not a successor, of Īśvarakriṣṇa.

Sanghabhadra, a great Vaibhāṣika teacher, was an opponent of Vasubandhu. According to Paramārtha, he challenged Vasubandhu to a discussion which the latter did not accept. Sanghabhadra's date would then be between 240-310 A.D. Vasubandhu was a Vaibhāṣika who was supposed to have been converted to Yogācāra school by his brother Asanga. Bhartrihari, who has been referred to by Dinnāga, Śankara, Kumārila, Dharmakīrti and others, belongs to pre-Dinnāga period.

6. Asanga was the disciple of Maitreyanātha according to the traditional accounts. But the Chinese and Tibetan traditions can not be relied upon for settling the chronology of Indian thinkers. As Prof. Demieville said, "Chinese tradition, for all the mass of documents on which it rests, hardly affords, at least for the early period, more positive historical information than Indian tradition with the complete absence of documents."[1] We find that Asanga was known as the sage of Ajantā, since the caves there originally represented the Acinta-(or Ajita-) purī-vihāra.[2]

Maitreya and Asanga gave a definite shape to the Vijñānavāda system. Vasubandhu moved from the Vaibhaṣika position to the Sautrantika and thence to the Yogācāra school under the influence of his brother Asanga. Vāmana's statement[3] enables us to locate Vasubandhu in the court of Candragupta I. Samudragupta (C. 335 A.D.) in his *Kriṣṇacarita* speaks of the eight famous opponents of Dinnāga as residing in his court.[4] Mallavādin, who lived at the time of Valabhībhanga (357 A.D.) refers to Dinnāga,[5] while Kumārajīva (383-413 A.D.) wrote a biography of Vasubandhu. Vasubandhu, the teacher of Dinnāga, Sthiramati and Guṇamati, must accordingly be placed between 250 and 330 A.D.

Dinnāga wrote his *Pramāṇasamuccaya* while residing on an isolated hill lying 200 *li* south-west of Vengi.[6] Amongst Dinnāga's disciples we find Dharmapāla, Īśvarasena and Śankarasvāmin. Dinnāga's date seems to fall between 300 and 380 A.D.

Baddhapālita appears to be an exact contemporary of Dinnāga, since Buddhapālita and his younger contemporary Bhāvaviveka subjected Dinnāga

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1. Quoted by Johnstou in his Introduction to *Buddhacarita*, XVI,
2. See Evans-Wentz, 158.
3. *Kāvyālamkārasūtravritti* : Vasubandhusācivyākshepaparatvāt.
4. *Kriṣṇacarita* : 'Varṇitā aṣṭaguravo dinnāgapratipakṣiṇaḥ.'
5. See *Dvādasāraṇyacakra*, 109-110.
6. Watters, 2.209-210.

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to a severe criticism. Buddhapālita himself was severely criticised by Bhāvaviveka.[1] In his *Tarkajvālā* we find Bhāvaviveka quoting from the *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā* (3.5 etc.) of Gauḍapāda. In the *Karatalaratna* we come across references to the anirvacanīyatāvāda, nirguṇātman,[2] and the Vedāntic self.[3] Bhāvaviveka then seems to be the younger contemporary of Śankara. By the time of Yuan Chwang many legends cropped up round Bhāvaviveka who should, therefore, be placed between 310 and 400 A.D., while Śankara's date would be from 368 to 400 A.D.

Regarding Bhāvaviveka we have definite information from Yuan Chwang. The pilgrim writes, "Not far from the south side of the capital (Dhānyakaṭaka) was a mountain cliff in the asura's palace in which the Śastra-master p'o-p'i-fei-ka (Bhāvaviveka) waits to see Maitreya when he comes to be the Buddha." Then we have the story of this renowned dialectician, who externally displaying the Sānkhya garb, internally propogated the learning of Nāgārjuna.[4] Bhāvaviveka not only belongs to Dhānyakaṭaka, but was originally a follower of the Sānkhya. That he was believed to be waiting for the second coming of Maitreya only suggests that Maitreya originally belonged to the same place as was chosen by Bhāvaviveka. Incidentally it suggests that Maitreya was not a pure Vijñānavādin.

7. Next we have the famous logician Dharmakīrti who has been accepted by tradition to be the relative (nephew) of Kumārila. The *Jinavijaya* records that Kumārila was an Andhra hailing from a village called Jayamangalā on the banks of the Mahānadī.[5] Dharmakīrti was supposed to be born in Trimalaya or Tirumalaya. The prefix 'tri' or 'tiru' is the Dravidian cognate of Śrī; and the word malai means a mountain. Thus Tirumalaya is the Dravidien translation of Śrīśaila or Śrīparvata. In his *Vāda-nyāya* we read the interesting statement. '*Yastu nakka śabdam mukku śabdam evavā nāsā paryāyam vetti na nāsā śabdam...*'.[6] Here Dharmakīrti is giving the words nakka, mukku, and nāsikā. These three are from three different languages, and all mean the nose. Of these the

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1. See MMV 9, 65.
2. K. R. 60.
3. K. R. 76.
4. Watters, 2. 215.
5. "*Andhrotkalānām samyoge pavitre jayamangale*
   grāme tasmin mahānadyam bhaṭṭacāryaḥ kumārakaḥ
   āndhra jātistittiriko mātā candraguṇāsatī
   yajñeśvaraḥ pitā yasya mahāvādirmahān ghoraḥ."
6. *Vādanyāya*, 103-4.

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second word in mukku, a pure Telugu word meaning the nose. It is not an accident that made Dharmakīrti use this term. It came direct from his mother tongue. Thus a few pages later he distinguishes his mother tongue Telugu from Prākrit, Apabhramśa and Dramiḍa languages.[1]

Dharmakīrti quotes Uddyotakara (350-420 A.D.) profusely in his *Vādanyāya*.[2] He refers to Kumārila[3] with whose views he was very well acquainted. From Uddyotakara and Kumārila he took over the term Vārtika and gave it to his own work. He was aware of the Advaitic doctrine of the immediacy of the self,[4] though his commentator was at great pains to explain it away.[5] It is debatable whether Śankara quotes from him, though Śankara's disciple Sureśvara was acquainted with the Buddhist thinker.[6] Kumarila's references to Śankara's position show that Śankara preceded Dharmakīrti, or that Śankara was his elder contemporary. He lived long before Yuan Chwang and we can tentatively place him between 390 and 470 A.D.

There have been some critics who have placed Dharmakīrti in the seventh century mainly on the ground that Yuan Chwang did not mention him. Yuan Chwang was in India by 636 A.D. It was in 635 A.D. that Dharmapāla ceased to be the Abbot at Nālandā; and this Dharmapāla was said to be the teacher of Dharmakīrti. I-Tsing, who was in India during 670-695 A.D., mentions Dharmakīrti. This does not, however, prove that Dharmakīrti was a contemporary of Yuan Chwâng. Just as I-Tsing's statement about Bhartrihari can not make us place him in the seventh century since even Dinnāga quotes him, so Yuan Chwang's non-mention is not a valid argument. Moreover, there may have been many Dharmapālas; and to add to this all, the Tibetan traditional stories are not infallible. Dharmakīrti's *Vārtika* clearly shows that it was a period of intense intellectual activity when a variety of schools were actively contending; and the seventh century was assuredly not the period that witnessed the great age of Buddhist logic and metaphysics. Yuan Chwang did not mention Dharmakīrti probably because he had no great interest in epistemological problems, though he was interested in theology.

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1. *Ibid.*, 107, "*Tat svabhāvasya anyato'pi siddheḥ prākritāpabhrāmsa dramiḍ-āndhra bhāṣāvat.*"
2. V. N. 75 ff. 111 ff. Contain large extracts from N V 5. 2.14, 17-25.
3. V N 67-8.
4. P. V. II. 325-7.
5. P. V. A. 352.
6. B. B. V. Page 1521.

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8. Dinnāga's contentions that there are only two valid means of cognition, that the cognition itself brings forth its own object, and that a perceptual apprehension is a non-constructive immediacy are severely criticised by Candrakīrti.[1] At another place Candrakīrti seems to imply that Dinnāga's system offers a two-valued logic of *is* and *is not* only, and that this is unsound.[2] Candrakīrti (370-440) must then be the contemporary of Śankara, Padmapāda, Sureśvara, Kumārila and Dharmakīrti.

9. Aśvaghoṣa, the author of the 'Awakening of Faith,' does not appear to be identical with the poet Aśvaghoṣa. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa bas-reliefs present the story found in the *Saundarānanda*. The first shows the Buddha's conversation with Nanda and Sundarī; the second reveals Nanda after the shaving ; the third is the visit to Indra's paradise. The dress of the Buddha and Nanda agrees with the tenth canto of the poem. Another figure shows Arhat Nanda going to preach. This reminds us of 18.58 to 62 of the poem. It is not possible to say whether these sculptural embodiments were based on the poem, or the poem arose to detect them. Johnston has ably argued that the poet Aśvaghoṣa belonged to the Bahuśrutīya sect,[3] and this accords with the fact that an āyaka pillar mentions the existence of the Bahuśrutīyas in that locality.[4] The Mahāyāna philosopher Aśvaghoṣa must have come long after. The first Aśvaghoṣa belongs to the first century before Christ ; and the second one may be assigned to the fifth or sixth century.

10. Uddyotakara's *Nyāyavārtika* originated primarily to refute Dinnāga. He does not mention Dinnāga by name probably because the latter was his exact or elder contemporary. Uddyotakara was refuted by Dharamakīrti (390-470 A.D.). He was mentioned in the *Vāsavadattā*,[5] which was referred to in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa. Bāṇa was a contemporary of Harṣa (606-647 A.D.). These considerations lead us to place Uddyotakara between 350 and 420 A. D. To the same period belongs Bhāmaha who was not aware of Dharmakīrti's definition of perception, though he attempted a refutation of the definitions given by Vasubandhu and Dinnāga.

Kumārila also belongs to this period. There may be some truth in the tradition that he studied with the Buddhists. Though epistemology

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1. M. M. V. 16-20.
2. M. M. V. 98, 160.
3. Johnston : *Buddhacarita*, Part II, Introd. xxxiii-xxxiv.
4. '*Ivam viharo sava jina niyuto acariyanam bahu-sutiyanam patithapito*'.
5. Page 235 of Hall's Edition.

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has very little part to play in the Mīmāṁsā system, Kumārila devotes a greater part of his *Śloka-vārtika* to a refutation of the Yogācāra. Kumārila was attacked by Śāntarakṣita (740 A.D.) and by Dharmakīrti (390-470 A.D.). Neither Sureśvara nor Kumārila can be placed in the eighth century if only because Kamalaśīla (750 A.D.) quotes from Sureśvara and Śāntarakṣita (740 A.D.) attacks Kumārila, (350-430 A.D.).

Umveka does not seem to be a disciple of Kumārila inspite of the traditional accounts. Maṇḍana (402-480 A.D.) and Prabhākara (400-470 A.D.) were Kumārila's pupils; and commenting on Maṇḍana's Bhāvanā-viveka, Umveka gives a variety of variant readings. This is possible only if Umveka came at least a century after Maṇḍana. Śāntarakṣita refers to Umveka. This Umveka must then be other than Bhavabhūti ; and he has to be placed before the eighth century. The latest date that we can think of would be 600 to 670 A.D.

11. Amongst the authors preceding Śāntarakṣita we find Śubhagupta who was known as the follower of the *Pramāṇa-vārtika*. Another was Bhadanta Yogasena. These scholars may be assigned to the seventh century to which period belongs Prajñākaragupta, the author of the *Alamkāra* on *Pramāṇa-vārtika*. Prajñākara himself was severely attacked by Udayana. Prajñākara, Jinendrabuddhi, Dharmākara and Kalyāṇarakṣita were the disciples of Śākyamati. They belong to the period between 540 and 640 A.D. Śākyamati (490-580 A.D.) himself was the pupil of Devendramati or Devendrabodhi (440-530 A.D.), who was in his turn the direct disciple of Dharmakīrti.

Dharmākara is famous for his *Hetubindu-ṭīkā*. Jinendrabuddhi has commented on *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. Prajñākara, Dharmākara and Kalyāṇarakṣita were the teachers of Dharmottara (610-700 A.D.), the author of the *Nyāyabindu-ṭīkā*. Dharmottara according to Kalhaṇa, visited Kāshmīr during the reign of Jayāpīḍa.[1] Karṇakagomin, another commentator of *Pramāṇa-vārtika*, came after Umveka and others.

The important Nyaya thinkers that preceded Śānstarakṣita include Uddyotakara, Aviddhakarṇa, Śankarasvāmin, and Praśastamati. Śāntideva, the author of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, was earlier than Śāntarakṣita. The latter in his *Tattvasiddhi* quotes from Bodhicaryāvatāra. Śāntideva can then be placed between 670 and 730 A.D.

12. With Śāntarakṣita and his brother-in-law Padmasambhava we are in the realm of definite historical data. Buston informs us that

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1. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, 4.498.

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Śāntarakṣita was invited by the Tibetan king Thi-srom-dou-tsan who ruled from 743 to 789 A.D. In the biography of Padmasambhava we read that the same king invited Padmasambhava also to Tibet. Śantarakṣita erected the first monastery of Tibet at Sam-ye in 749 A.D.; and he remained there for thirteen years. He died in 762 A.D. He visited Tibet first in 743 A.D, and next in the company of Padmasambhava in the spring of 747 A.D.

Padmasambhava's father Indrabodhi takes us to the rising school of Vajrayāna Buddhism. His *Jñānasiddhi* marked a turning point in the history of Buddhism, particularly of Tibetan Buddhism. The genealogical succession of Vajrayāna thinkers presents nine scholars, each of whom was the preceptor of his successor. They are Padmavajra, Anangavajra, Indrabhūti or Indrabodhi, Bhagavatī Lakshmī, Līlāvajra, Dārikapāda, Sahajayoginī Cintā and Dombī Heruka. Padmavajra was the author of Guhyasiddhi. Indrabhūti was styled Oḍiyāna-siddha, Uḍḍiyāna-vinirgata; and he was the ruler of Oḍiyāna having his capital of Dhānyakaṭaka. According to the Vajrayānists, the Buddha turned the third wheel of the law called Vajrayāna at Dhānyakaṭaka, sixteen years after his enlightenment.[1]

Padmasambhava's chief disciple, the Tibetan lady Yeshey Tshogyal, gave the life and teachings of her teacher. According to this biography, the Buddha himself decided to take birth from a lotus blossom in the Dhānyakaṭaka lake in the country called Urgyān, Orgyan, Udyāna or Oḍiyāna.[2] This was the Andhra country ruled by Indrabodhi who adopted Padmasambhava. Indrabodhi was the same as Indrabhūti, the disciple of Anaṇga-yajra. Padmasambhava married Mandāravā, the sister of Śāntarakṣita who belonged to the city of Sahor in the north-western corner of the Andhra country.[3]

Kamalaśīla, the disciple of Śāntarakṣita, quotes Sureśvara while explaining a passage of his master.[4] Śāntarakṣita attacked Vidyānanda and the latter's pupil, Prabhācandra, attempted a refutation of Śāntarakṣita's views. This Vidyānanda directed his attacks against Sureśvara and Dharmakīrti. It was after Śāntarakṣita's death that Kamalaśīla entered Tibet, and this took place during the last two years of king Thi-sron-deu-tsan, in 787 or 788 A.D.

13. We can now turn to a chronological survey of the Advaitic thinkers.

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1. See Rāhula Sánkrityayana's Preface to his edition of the *Vigraha-vyāvartanī*.
2. See Evans-Wentz, 105.
3. Evans-Wentz, 142-4.
4. On T. S. 144 he quotes B. B. V. page 1246.

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Śankara refers to Upavarṣa[1] and a Vrittikāra.[2] If we are to rely on his commentators, he refers to Dramiḍa[3] who is interpreted as an Advaitin by Sarvajñātman,[4] though he treats the effect as a manifestation of the cause. According to Sureśvara, Śankara seems to be aware of Bhartriprapanca,[5] Brahmadatta[6] and such other idealists who held fast to a doctrine of identity-in-difference. There was a Brahmanandin.[7] But a passage appearing in Śankara, Vimuktātman and Prakāśātman has been attributed to various writers; and it has evoked varied interpretation.[8] The author of this passage is said to be Dramiḍa or Brahmanandi; and the different interpretations enable us to surmise that at least by the time of Prakāśātman the original texts of these thinkers were lost and that Rāmānuja could therefore conveniently attribute his ideas to the authors whose works were no longer available.

Of pre-Śankara Vedāntins we have some data about Gauḍapāda who was reputed to be the preceptor of Śankara's teacher Govinda. Bhāvaviveka (310-400 A.D.) quotes from Gauḍapāda whose idealism presents a stage when the Vijñānavāda and Śūnyavāda were not yet clearly bifurcated. His commentary on *Sānkhya-kārikā* was rendered in to Chinese by 560 A.D. According to Sadāśiva-brahmendra, however, Gauḍapāda was the preceptor of Apollonius (100 A.D.). This would make him a contemporary of Nāgarjuna. Some objections have been raised against this date on the ground that Śankara belongs to a very late date. But there is no evidence, apart from a tradition, to show that Śankara's teacher was the pupil of Gauḍapāda; and the traditional lists mention only important personalities till they come to Śankara. Those who cannot accept this date will have to place him between 280 and 360 A.D.

14. The traditional accounts do not help us much in establishing the date of Śankara.

Śankara lived at a time when the king of Ayodhya was known as the king of the entire country.[9] This places 450 A.D. as the upper limit. It was a time when the Vaināśikas were very active.[10] Such destructive disputants were Vasubandhu, Dinnāga, Buddhapālita, Bhāvaviveka,

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1. V. S. B. 1. 3. 28 ; 3. 3. 53.
2. V. S. B. 1. 1. 19, 23, 31 ; 1. 2. 23.
3. On *Chandogya* 1, 145-6 on M.K. II 32; Introd. to *Taittirīya Upaniṣad.*
4. S. S. III. 217-220.
5. See B. B, V. pages 572, 623, 648, 666, 668-670, 758, 1789.
6. See B B. V. p. 1357. Cf. V. S. B. 4.1.3; PPV 252-3, SS I 307-311.
7. S. S. III. 216-220.
8. See on M. K. 2.32; IS ; PPV 252-3.
9. V.S. B. 1.2.7.
10. V.S. B. 2.2.27.

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Īśvarasena and Śankarasvāmin, covering the period from 250 A.D. to 450 A.D. During this period there was a Pūrṇavarma[1] who could be contrasted with a Rājavarma[2] besides a Simha, who could be compared with Dalavarma.[3] We also hear of a person going to Balavarma, then to Jayasimha, and finally to Kriṣṇa.[4] In the fifth century we actually come across Pūrṇavarma of Java and Simhavarma of Kāncī. According to the *Guru-ratna-mālikā* of Sadāśiva-brahmendra (1600 A.D.) Śankara with the aid of Rajasenacola was responsible for the construction of the great temples devoted to Varada and Ekāmranātha at Kāncī. The Ekāmranātha temple, however, is alluded to in the Nattavilāsa of Mahendravarma I (600 A.D.).

Śankara quotes Dinnāga[5] and other Buddhist thinkers.[6] This would confine the date of Śankara to the period between 350 and 450 A.D. In so far as he does not refer to Dinnāga by name, we can only surmise that Dinnāga was his immediate predecessor, or that Dinnāga was his elder contemporary.

Śankara does not refer to Kumārila. Harisvāmin (638 A.D.) in his commentary on the *Śatapatha*, the refers to Kumārila; and Dharmakīrti (390-470 A.D.) actually criticises Kumārila.[7] We have therefore to consider Kumārila's date before determining the time of Śankara.

While dealing with the proof of a proposition even when a dissimilar instance is absent, we find Kumārila referring to Bhāvaviveka's contention.[8] Elsewhere he taunts the rejection of the Sānkhya position by his opponent,[9] who is no other than Bhāvaviveka.

Pātrakesari, the disciple of Akalamka (600 A.D.), attacked Kumārila in his *Aṣṭasāhasrī* ; and he also criticised Śankara, besides quoting from Sureśvara.

Kumārila refers to Advaita[10] and to the reality of absolute existence as propounded by Śankara.[11] He practically equates Advaita with Śūnyavāda,[12] and seems to believe that the former is worse than the

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1. V. S. B. 2.1.18; on *Chandogya* 3.19.1.
2. On *Chandogya* 2.23.1.
3. V. S. B. 2.4.1.
4. V. S. B. 4.3 5,
5. V. S. B. 2 2.28.
6. V. S. B. 2.2.22, 24.
7. See P. V. I. 34-5; II. 141; III. 216, 240, 259, 265, 269, 291.
8. Cf. SV. Nirālamba 27 with KR. 38-39.
9. Cf. SV. Nirālamba, 121 ff, 154-5 with KR. 42.
10. See SV. Śūnya 8-9 and SVV 241; SV. Nirālamba 129-131, 155 and SVV. 229.
11. See SV. Ākriti 48.
12. Cf. VSB. 1.1.3 with SV. 1.1.2,143 and with SVV. 79.

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latter.[1] Umveka agrees with this.[2] The Advaitin's universal,[3] his conception of the means of cognition and avidyā,[4] are all criticised by Kumārila. In the *Ślokavārtika* we have references to the absolute self of Advaita and its relation to avidyā,[5] and to the self-revealing character of consciousness.[6]

The absence of any reference to Kumārila in the writings of Śankara compels us, in the light of the foregoing evidence, to believe that Kumārila was well acquainted with Śankara's thought. Since Dharmakīrti (390-470 A.D.) brings Kumārila for attack on every occasion, we can place the latter between 350 A.D. and 430 A.D. Śankara may then be assigned to 368-400 A.D.

15. It is sometimes held that Maṇḍana was a pre-Śankara Vedāntin. Maṇḍana and Sureśvara are two different persons. But Maṇḍana came after Śankara, and he was a disciple of Knmārila,[7] though he talks slightingly of his teacher in his *Sphoṭasiddhi*. He was well acquainted with the writings of the two post-Kumārila thinkers, Prabhākara and Dharmakīrti.[8] Just as Maṇḍana (400-480 A.D.) had his own Mīmānsā position, so did he develop a Vedāntic system of his own. This system of thought diverges to some extent from that of Śankara, and it forms the basis of Vācaspati's thought.

16. Vācaspati composed his *Nyāyasūcīnibandha* in the year 898 Śaka, agreeing to 841 A.D., while Udayana wrote his *Lakṣaṇāvalī* in 984 A.D. Vācaspati refers to Dharmottara's *Apoha-nāma-prakaraṇa*.[9] This versatile genius was equally at home with all the systems of philosophy. Vācaspati's first work was *Nyāyakaṇikā*, a commentary on Maṇḍana's *Vidhi-viveka*. This was followed by *Brahmatattva-samīkṣā*, *Tattvabindu*, and *Nyāya-sūcī-nibandhana*. These three are referred to in his fourth work on the Nyāya system called *Tātparyaṭīkā*. The fourth work is referred to in his *Sānkhyatattva-kaumudī* which in its turn is mentioned in his sixth composition *Tattva-vaiśāradī*. All these six are under reference in his *Bhāmati*. This *Bhāmatī* is the starting point of an important school of Advaita; and consequently a study of Advaitic epistemology is incomplete if the various works of Vācaspati are ignored.

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1. See SV. 1.1.2.148 and SVV. 80.
2. See SVV. 196.
3. See SV. 1.1.4.113-6; SVV. 148.
4. SV. Nirālamba 159; SVV. 230.
5. SV. Sambandhākṣepa-parihāra 82-86.
6. SV. Ātmavāda 143-9.
7. See VVM.
8. See VVM.
9. See N. V. TT ; VVN. 187.

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On the doctrine of sphota, Vācaspati refers us to his criticism in *Tattvabindu*,[1] and to the same text we are asked to go for his views on verbal testimony.[2] On recognition and on the intrinsic validity of knowledge,[3] on causality[4] and on error[5] he wants us to go through his *Nyāya-kaṇikā*. Vācaspati evidently had a consistent system of epistemology and metaphysics. It is more eclectic in character, drawing its material from various systems of thought and harmonising the varied viewpoints. This in itself is a stupendous task ; and its success lies in presenting a system of thought which is least unacceptable to any thinker. Yet Vācaspati is not a mere follower of any master. He even rejects Śankara's interpretation of V.S. 2.4.19, of the *Ānandamayādhikaraṇa*, and of *Bhāvecopalabdheh*.[6]

17. Amongst Śankara's immediate disciples the most famous dialecticians are Padmapāda and Sureśvara (380-470 A.D.). The former is opposed to all forms of subjective idealism and realism. The latter offers a doctrine verging on solipsism. Amongst the successors of Sureśvara we have Nityabodhaghana, Jñānaghana and Jñānottama. The second composed his *Tattvaśuddhi* on the basis of Ananyānubhava's *Ātmatattva*. This *Ātmatattva* may be the same as *Ātma-sambuddhi* which was said to have been the work of Ananyānubhava. the teacher of Prakāśātman.

Vimuktātman, the author of *Iṣṭasiddhi*, belongs to the period of Vācaspati. Bhāskara's identity-in-difference was just then coming before the philosophers. The Mīmāmsakas were active. Vācaspati's reticence about him and Sarvajñātman's reference to him suggest that Vimuktātman belonged to the ninth century.

Sarvajñātman, the disciple of Deveśvara, represents a new trend in the Advaita tradition. He was a contemporary of Manukulāditya and may be placed round about 900 A.D.

Prakāśātman, the author of the celebrated *Vivaraṇa* on the *Pancapādikā*, was one of the violent critics of Bhāskara's metaphysics. He was equally critical of Vācaspati's avaccheda-vāda and nānā-jīva-vāda. He must have preceded Rāmānuja by at least one century. The *Vivaraṇa* formed the basis of one of the leading schools of Advaita.

18. The next great Advaitic dialectician was Śrīharṣa whose *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādya* is most valuable. Śrīharṣa mentions Mahima-

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1. See B. on VSB. 1.3.10.
2. B. on VSB. 1.3.28.
3. *Ibid.*
4. B. 541.
5. B. 30. 7-8.
6. B. 649.

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bhaṭṭa[1] who came after Abhinava (1000 A.D.) and before Mammaṭa (1100 A.D.). According to Gadādhara, Śrī-Harṣa was patronised by Govindacandra of Kanauj (1104-1154 A.D.). He was quoted by Mahendrasūri (1172 A.D.), and Kshīrasvāmin (1120 A.D.). Śrī-Harṣa should then be placed between 1050 A.D. and 1120 A.D. From Śrī-Harṣa onwards we have a pure dialectical school of Advaita. This school handled primarily the *reductio ad absurdum* method. Attempts were however made to reconcile this school with the Bhāmati tradition or with the Vivaraṇa school or with both. A synthetic approach in this direction appears in the work of Citsukha.

Citsukha (1200 A.D.), the author of *Tattva-pradipika,* was the disciple of Jnānottama (1180 A.D.), both being devoted to Simhādri or Simhācalam near modern Waltair. This prolific writer, who is more at home in the Buddhist dialectics, made a sincere attempt to reconcile the divergent schools of Advaita. His disciple was Sukhaprakāśa who taught Amalānanda (1260 A,D.), the author of the *Kalpataru.* This Amalānanda was also the disciple of Anubhavānanda whose teacher was Ānandātmā. Anubhavānanda was the author of *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī.* Ānandātman's disciple was Śankarānanda, amongst whose pupils are found Bhāratītīrtha (1333-1380 A.D.) and Vidyāraṇya (1380-1386 A D.). This Ānandātma is other than Āanandabodha, the author of the *Nyāyamakaranda,* which was commented upon by Citsukha. There is also an Ānandagiri who is the same as Ānandajñāna or Janārdanā. He and Svayamprakāśa (1580 A.D.) were the pupils of Śudhānanda. Akhaṇḍānanda, the author of *Tattvadīpana,* was the pupil of Svayamprakāśa and Akhaṇḍānubhūti. With Akhaṇḍānanda we come to the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

19. Sadānanda, the author of *Vedāntasāra,* belonged to the fifteenth century. Interested as he was in cosmological and mataphysical problems, he tried to harmonise divergent views on these questions. Nrisimhāśrama, the teacher of Rangojī Bhaṭṭa, was the author of *Vivaraṇa-bhāva-prakāśikā, Bhedādhikāra,* and *Subodhinī.* The last work was said to have been composed in 1588 A.D. His exact contemporary was *Dharmarājādhvarin,* the author of the *Vedānta-paribhāṣā.* He also commented on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* of Gangeśa. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (1560-1647 A.D.) is the last great representative of the Advaitic tradition. One of the most powerful dialecticians, he devoted his energies to expose the self-contradictions and inconsistencies involved in all schools of dualism, pluralism and realism. His work belongs to the seventeenth century.

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1. K.K.K. 1327.

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Chronological table

General Buddhist thinkers.	Madhyamaka	Yogācāra
	Paramitas	
Aśvaghoṣa 54 B.C.-16 A.D.		
Kapimala 37 B.C.-43 A.D.	Saraha, Nāgārjuna } 20 B.C.-70 A.D.	
Vasumitra, Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣaka } 100	Āryadeva 35-125.	Lankāvatāra 100.
	Rāhulabhadra 85-170 Rāhulamitra 130-220. Nāgamitra 190-270.	Maitreyanātha.
		Asanga 220-300.
Buddhamitra 210-280.	Sangharakṣita 245-335.	
Saṅghabhadra 240-310.		Vasubandhu 250-330. Sthiramati 280-360. Dinnāga 300-380. Īśvarsena 330-410. Sankarasvāmin 340-420. Dharmapāla 350-430. Dharmakīrti 390-470. Devendramati 440-530. Sākyamati 490-580. Jinendrabuddhi 540-600. Śīlabhadra 550-645. Prajñākara 550-625. Dharmākara 555-630. Kalyāṇarakṣita 555-640. Dharmottara 610-700.
	Buddhapālita 300-380. Bhāvaviveka 310-400. Vimuktasena 310-390. Candrakīrti 370-440.	
Śubhagupta 620-680. Yogasena 620-680. Padmavajra 620-700. Anangavajra 640-710. Indrabodhi 670-740. Bhagavatī Lakṣmī 700-770. Padmasambhava 710-790. Līlāvajra 720-790. Dārikapāda 740-800. Sahajayoginī Cintā- 760-825. Dombī Heruka 780-840. Advayavajra.	Śāntideva 670-730. Nāgārjuna II. Āryadeva II. Haribhadra 760-830.	Karṇakagomin 780-850. Śāntarakṣita 700-762.

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Nyāya	Sāmkhya, Mīmāmsā etc.	Advaita
Vatsyāyana 10 B.C.-70 A.D.		Upavarṣa 100.
Praśastapāda 60-140.		Bhartriprapanca.
		Brahmadatta.
	Śabara 100-180.	Brahmanandi.
	Īśvarakriṣṇa 120-190.	Ādhārakārikā.
		Gauḍapāda ?
	Māṭhara, Vriṣagaṇa } 190-260.	
	Vindhyavāsin 220-290.	
		Gauḍapāda 280-350.
		Śankara 366-400.
Uddyotakara 350-420.	Kumārila 350-430.	... ...
Bhāmaha 380-450.	... ...	Padmapāda 380-460.
		Sureśvara 380-470.
	Prabhākara 400-470.	
	Maṇḍana 400-480.	
	Śālikanātha.	
	Umveka 600-670.	
Āviddhakarṇa 620-700.		Nityabodhaghana.
		Vācaspati 800-875
		Vimuktātman 810-875.
	Pārthasārathi.	Sarvajñātman 850-920.
		Ananyānubhava 870-930
		Prakāśātman 905-980.
Udayana 945-1010.		Jñānaghana 905-980.
		Śrīharṣa 1050-1120.
		Jñānaghana 1120-1220.
		Ānandabodha 1130-1200.
		Citsukha 1160-1230.
		Sukhaprakāśa 1190-1250.
		Ānandātmā 1160-1230.
		Anubhavānanda 1190-1250.
		Amalānanda 1200-1280.
		Śankarānanda 1200-1280.
		Bhāratītīrtha 1300-1380.
		Vidyāraṇya 1330-1386.
		Sadānanda 1400-1470.
		Suddhānanda 1520-1590.
		Ānandagiri 1540-1600.
		Nrisimhāśrama 1538-1610.
		Dharmarājādhvari 1538-1610.
		Svayamprakāśa 1540-1610
		Akhaṇḍānanda 1560-1625.
		Madhusūdana 1560-1647.

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Siyurghal Lands under the Mughals

By

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[Siyurghal lands are described as the lands given by the Muslim rulers to certain categories of Muslim subjects by way of subsistence allowance. The writer gives interesting details based on original sources from the reign of Akbar to that of Shah Jahan of the conditions governing the conferment of such grants, and of the procedure adopted for their gift, maintenance and confirmation. *Ed.*]

Assignments of land either in lieu of salaries to government servants or as subsistence allowance (or *madad-i-maash*) to certain categories of Muslim subjects by Muslim rulers have left a permanent imprint not only on agrarian relationship in India, but also on the character and economic development of the recipients of such grants. Such assignments carried immunities and perquisites with them and lent a certain social status to the recipients which had important bearing on the development of social and economic life of the people. A study of such relationship created between the state and the subjects is essential for a proper understanding of the social and economic background of the Muslim state in India. Hitherto, we have depended for a detailed and trustworthy account of the internal structure of the Mughal empire and the working of the different departments of state on political histories alone, with the result that the picture that we get is blurred and hazy. A more careful and intelligent reading of the numerous documents—*farmans, parwanas, shuqqas* etc.—that have survived the ravage of man and nature will help us to reconstruct the picture and have a more clear idea of the political and administrative institutions of the Mughals. An attempt is made here to study the problem of *siyurghal* or *madad-i-maash* lands in the light of such documents.

The word *siyurghal,* which is of Mongol origin, literally means a favour or a grant. Originally it denoted the document by which a *tiyul* was granted. A *farman* of Shah Hussain Safvi dated 1113 (1701) is cited as a specimen of *siyurghal.*[1]

Under the Mughals, however, *siyurghal* denoted subsistence allowance and as such carried no obligation to furnish a body of troops or

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1. *Ency. of Islam* Vol. IV, p. 800.

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to perform civil or military duties. It was a grant made as a recognition of the piety or the learning of the recipient and was more in the nature of a charitable grant than a rumuneration for services rendered. Subsistence allowance paid in cash was called *wazifah* and lands conferred for this purpose were designated as *milk* or *madad-i-maash* lands.[1]

Generally *siyurghals* were granted to those persons who were known as *ahl-i-sa'adat* and the department dealing with the grant of *siyurghal* lands was known as Diwan-i-sa'adat. According to Abul Fazal the following categories of persons were eligible for such grants : firstly, those who in order to seek the truth had renounced the world and had engaged themselves in acquiring real knowledge ; secondly, those who underwent great hardships and suffering in conquering worldly desires and had renounced the company of their fellow beings ; thirdly, the poor and the needy who did not possess enough strength to earn their livelihood ; fourthly, men of noble birth who on account of shortsightedness[2] did not take up any trade or profession.

An examination of the documents Nos. 220 and 226 in the Record Office at Allahabad and the relevant evidence in *Farhang-i-kardani*[3] gives an idea of the procedure followed in granting lands as *inam* or *madad-i-maash*. In the first instance a report was submitted to the imperial office that such and such persons deserved *madad-i-maash* grant. This report was known as *fard-i-haqiqat*. The report, as soon as it was received, was recorded in the *siyaha* and then presented to the emperor. The emperor, if he approved of it, issued verbal orders for such an assignment. The details of the grant, the name of the Sadr and the name of the wiqaih-nigar were recorded in the *yaddasht-waqiah*. The Sadr then ordered that the *yaddasht* should be presented to the emperor again. When this had been presented for the second time, the Sadr issued instructions that a *farman* should be prepared within the period specified by him. It was then only that the actual *farman* was prepared. It contained the details of the land so granted, the name of the grantee, and the necessary instructions to the officers concerned to comply with the order and make over the possession of the land so assigned to the grantee. The *ziman*, giving the procedure

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1. *Ain.*, I p. 140.

2. *Ain.*, I p. 141. The original uses از کم اندیشی. Blochmann has rendered it as "from want of knowledge." (Blochmann's translation, Vol. I, p. 278). I take it to be Abul Fazal's own comment on the narrow and stupid attitude of this class whose members regarded it as below their dignity to take up any profession.

3. *Farhang-i-kardani*, ff. 39, 40, Lytton Library, M.U., Aligarh.

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of the grant as stated above and entered in the *yaddasht-waqiah,* was recorded on the back of the *farman.*

In accordance with the term of the *farman,* a *parwana* was issued by the Sadr. It also contained a *ziman* by the Sadr which was a summary of the order. The *parwana* contained the date of the issue of the *farman,* specification of the assignment and the name of the assignee and directed the officers concerned to carry out the order.

There is a casual reference to the procedure in the *Ain-i-siyurghal,* which says, "As the circumstances of men have to be inquired in to before grants are made and their petitions must be considered in fairness, an experienced man with correct intentions is employed for the office."[1]

A study of the *farmans* and *parwanas* granting *madad-i-maash* lands reveals that legally the grant was at the king's pleasure and during good behaviour. It could be resumed, extended, or curtailed whenever the king liked to do so. But in practice the grant was hereditary and confirmed the right of property and not of mere usufruct on the grantee as in the case of the *jagirs.* On the death of the grantee his or her heirs had to apply for the renewal of the grant and produced necessary documents and witnesses to establish their claims. After due inquiry by an officer of the department of the Sadr the grant was renewed and confirmed. In the case of some grants it was specifically stated that the grantee was exempted from the periodic renewal of the grant. The land held by the deceased was distributed among his or her heirs according to law.[2] Before the grant was renewed it was acertained whether the claimants had the land in their possession and had utilized it. I have not seen any document recording the sale or transfer of *madad-i-maash* land as gift or rent free sub-grant during the reign of Akbar, but later documents record the transfer of *madad-i-maash* land by way of gift or *inam.*[3]

Generally the *farmans* granting *madad-i-maash* land exempted the grantees from all cesses and deductions commonly known as *awarizat-i-sultani* and *huquq-i-diwani.*[4] In other words they were exempted from *mal-o-jihad* and *sair akharajat.* The latter head included the following :—

Qanligha (process fee), *peshkash* (presents), *jaribanah* (rate imposed for defraying the charges of measurement of land), *zabitanah* (fee paid to

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1. *Ain.* I, Blochmann, p. 278.
2. D. Nos. 166, 169, 170, 55, 175.
3. D. Nos. 294, 296.
4. *Farhang-i-kardani,* f. 39b.

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measurers and assessors), *muhassilanah* (fee of the tax gatherer), *muhranah* (fees for sealing documents), *daroghanah* (superintendence charges), *begar* (employing any one without remuneration), *shikar* (hunting fee), *dah-nimi* (tax of five per cent), *muqaddami* (headman's fee), *sad-doi* (tax of two per cent), *qanungoi* (fees of officers in charge of land tenures) and *zabt-i-har-salah*[1] (cost of annual settlement).

A large number of documents do not contain any reference to any obligation on the part of the grantee except praying for the stability and welfare of the kingdom, which simply is an expression of a pious hope that the good will and the best wishes of the grantee will always be available for the head of the state. It did not entail, as one European writer thinks, the obligation to actually engage in prayer for the king. Some of the documents enjoin the grantee to build a mosque, a house and a *chaupal* and to lay out a garden in the village.[2] One of the *farmans* records the grant of *madad-i-maash* land and directs the grantee to give the call to prayers five times daily. The grantees, who were the heads of certain institutions such as *imambaras*, *khanqahs* or tombs were required to look after the maintenance of the institutions and pay regularly wages or salaries to those who were attached to the institutions.[3] However, the majority of the grantees, who were generally Shaikhs and Syeds, were exempted from all obligations except praying for the long life of the king and the stability of the state.

For more than twenty years after his accession Akbar could not pay proper attention to the *madad-i-maash* lands. During this period corruption was rampant in the Diwan-i-saadat, and many complaints came to the king. He was fully aware of the evils resulting from the arbitrary and lavish grants made and the abuse of the immunities granted by the state. In some cases the Amil of the khalsa land and the Gumashta of the jagirdar were accused of interfering with the land held by the grantees. In some cases the grantees had acquired land in many places by deceit or misrepresentation. In 1578 A.H. Akbar made up his mind to introduce necessary reforms. An account of these reforms is available in the *Akbarnamah*,[4] the *Ain-i-Akbari*,[5] in Badauni[6] and in a *farman* dated 27 Rabi-us-sani,

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1. *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, pp. 189-190.
2. D. No. 24.
3. D. No. 198.
4. *A.N.*, III, p. 240.
5. *Ain.*, I, pp. 140-141.
6. *Muntakhab-ut-twarikh*, Lowe, Vol. II, pp. 261, 282.

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986 A.H. (3rd July, 1578).[1] The account in the *Ain* is very brief and in the *Akbarnamah* reforms are mentioned in general terms. The *farman* available in the Record Office, Allahabad, however provides us with complete information about the evils of the system of administration and of the measures adopted to remove those evils. The regulations contained in the *farman* may be summed up as follows :—

1. Karoris and jagirdars were required to assign *madad-i-maash* lands to the holy persons exclusively in a few villages in one pargana, and these assignments were to be clearly marked off from the khalsa and jagir lands. For this purpose the assigned lands were to be demarcated in individual plots. The idea was that the village assigned as *madad-i-maash* land should be separated from khalsa and jagir lands so that the karoris and jagirdars could not oppress the grant holders.

2. Such grantees were required to build a mosque, a *chaupal*, a house and a garden in the village of the pargana in which the *madad-i-maash* land had been assigned to them.

3. It was laid down that in case a person resided in one pargana and the *madad-i-maash* land had been assigned to him in another pargana, he should not be allowed to take possession of the assigned land till he produced a new *sanad*.

4. One who had left a pargana voluntarily and without pressure and had settled down in a pargana where *madad-i-maash* land had been assigned to him, his claim was to be recognised.

From the *Ain* we learn that the lands held by chaudhries and Afghans were resumed.[2] These probably were lands which had been arbitrarily assigned by Shaikh Gadai.

Badauni gives the name of the officer who was entrusted with the introduction of the reforms. "At this time he (Akbar) confided the government of the Panjab to Said Khan Moghul, and appointed Ali Qazi Baghdadi (who is the grandson of Mir Qazi Husain Maibazi) to rearrange the boundaries of the lands given as *madad-i-maash* and *aima* in the Panjab and elsewhere, which had been encroached upon. He had orders to abolish the old boundaries and remeasure the enclosures and put them all together into one village. Thus an exact distinction was made between the different grant lands of the empire, and all this was done in spite of Shaikh Abd-un-nabi, and the dishonesty of his subordinates."[3] The

1. Regional Records Office, Allahabad, D. No. 24.
2. *Ain.*, Vol. I, p. 279.
3. *Badauni*, Lowe, II, p. 261.

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madad-i-maash holdings of large size were reduced and the reform resulted in the ruin of the noble families. Badauni in his characteristic caustic way thus comments on the result of this measure :

"And in this year Qazi Ali of Baghdad, who had been appointed in spite of Shaikh Abd-un-nabi to look into the administration of the *madad-i-ma'ash* lands and their encroachment, brought those holders of grant lands which brought in 1,000 or 500 down to those which brought in 100, to court, and cut off most of their lands, and taking the very calf from the cow left them precious little. By this means respect for the families of the great and the noble, and the renowned and famous vanished from the cities, and the children of no race were left so helpless as the human beings of Hind."[1]

The *Akbarnamah* does not furnish us with any more information on the subject. The *Ain*, however, contains a condensed account of all the development in the administration till the closing year of Akbar's reign.[2]

The consolidation of *madad-i-maash* lands and other regulations connected with it were introduced during the Sadarship of Abd-un-nabi (971-986 A.H./1563-1578 A.D.). But the reforms were not successful and it was reported that corruption still prevailed in the assignment of *madad-i-maash* lands, and people had obtained large areas of land which they did not deserve. A new order, therefore, was issued, according to which all persons who had more than five hundred bighas were required to submit *farmans* personally before His Majesty. In case they did not comply with this order their lands were to be resumed. It was discovered that grant holders had induldged in malpractices and cheated the government either by misrepresentation or forging orders of grant. Therefore an order was issued that the excess land above one hundred bighas, if not specified in the *farman*, should be reduced to $\frac{2}{5}$th. The remaining $\frac{3}{5}$th of the excess was to be annexed to the khalsa land. However Persian and Turani women were exempted from this rule. It was also laid down that any one who left his place of residence was to lose his land and receive a new grant.

The Sadarship of Sultan Khwaja (986-993 A.H./1578-1585 A.D.) also saw some reforms. It was discovered that the Qazi accepted bribes from the grant-holders and increased or decreased the grant accordingly. An enquiry was made in to the whole affair and all the Qazis guilty of such practices were convicted and dismissed. However an exception was made

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1. *Ibid*, p. 282.
2. *Ain*. Text ; I, p. 141, *Badauni* Vol. II, Lowe, pp. 199, 343.

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in the case of those Qazis who were appointed by Khwaja Sultan. The enquiries also revealed that the Persian and Turani women had also practised fraud and deception. An order was issued enjoining an enquiry in to the excess of land over 100 bighas held by them. It was also to be ascertained whether they had acquired their holdings lawfully or otherwise.

Mir Fateh Ullah Shirazi was appointed Sadr in 993 A.H. and held the office till the year 997 A.H. (1588 A.D.). During his sadrship the reform introduced related to the temporary confiscation of the grants of the deceased person till his or her heirs applied for the renewal of the grant and till it was formally renewed. The regulation said : "If any one held a *siyurghal* together with a partner and the *farman* contained no reference to the share possessed by each partner the Sadr should, in the event of one of the partners dying, proceed without further enquiry to a division, the share of the deceased partner lapsing to the crown and remaining domain land till the heir should personally apply to His Majesty."[1] The powers of the Sadr were further restricted and it was laid down that he could not grant more than 15 bighas without previous reference to His Majesty.

On account of the peace and prosperity that obtained in the empire, the grant holders laid out gardens. The income from the gardens, we are told, was considerable and so the grant holders became rich. Their wealth and prosperity roused the jealousy of the government officers. They pointed out that the total income derived by the grant holders was more than they needed, and that therefore the excess should be remitted to the imperial treasury. Akbar, however, did not approve of this malicious proposal and allowed the grant holders to appropriate the income.

Amir Fateh-ullah Shirazi was succeeded by Sadar Jahan in 997 A.H. (1588 A.D.). During his term of office the imperial control over the grant of land was further tightened. It was reported that even grant holders of small holdings of 100 bighas offered bribes and thus acquired more land than they deserved. The Sadr was ordered to bring the offenders before His Majesty. In order to improve the tone of the administration of *siyurghal* lands the Sadr was ordered to take decision with the concurrence of no less a man than Abul Fazal himself.

In assigning the land due consideration was given to the fact that the proportion between the land actually under cultivation and virgin or

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1. *Ain*. Vol. I, Blochmann, p. 280.

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fallow land should be reasonable. Abul Fazal has recorded the proportions which obtained during the closing years of Akbar's reign. It was laid down that *madad-i-maash* land should consist of one half of tilled land and one half of the land capable of cultivation. If the whole should be tilled land then one fourth should be taken away and a new grant made in lieu of the remainder. As for the income derived from each bigha, it varied from district to district, but it was never less than one rupee.

The *Ain* contains valuation figure for *siyurghal* lands assigned in various provinces. However, no *siyurghal* lands have been mentioned in the account of Bengal, Berar, Kashmir, Tatta and Kabul. For the remaining provinces the valuation of *siyurghal* lands has been given as against the total *jama* of the provinces. The percentage of *siyurghal* valuation varies from ·9 to 5·49. The lowest is for Gujrat and the highest for Delhi. If we strike an average of the percentage for provinces in which *siyurghal* lands were assigned it would come to about 2.336.

So much under Akbar. We have no detailed information about the administration of Diwan-i-saadat under Jahangir. However, it can be safely presumed that he made grants of *siyurghal* lands more lavishly. We find him distributing 55 thousand rupees in cash and 1,90,00,000 bighas of land, 14 villages and 11000 *kharwars* of shali, in the year 1023 A.H. (1614 A.H.).[1] He granted 44 thousand, 7 hundred and 86 bighas of land, two villages, 320 *kharwar* in Kashmir and 7 *qalbah* land in Kabul in the year 1028, A.H. (1618 A.D.)[2] Again, we find him granting pargana Maldew in Bengal to Mir Zia-ud-din Qazwini by way of *attamgha* and he granted three villages to Hakim Ruh-ullah as *milk*.[3]

Shah Jahan also granted *siyurghals* on as lavish a scale as his father had done. His bounty was great and it evoked the praise of Muhammad Saleh Kamboh, according to whom the income derived from the lands and *siyurghals* granted to the learned and the pious and other people amounted to the land revenue of Iran and Turan. Shah Jahan distributed thirty thousand rupees among the needy and the poor every year in the month of Ramzan and an amount of twelve thousand on the occasion of the birth of the Prophet.[4]

At one stage, however, he ordered an investigation in to the affairs of the *siyurghal* holders. It was reported by Sayyid Jalal, the Sadr-us-

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1. *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 136-37.
2. *Ibid*, p. 268.
3. *Ibid*, pp. 178, 253.
4. *Amal Saleh*, I, pp. 288-89.

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sudur,[1] that under the sadarship of Musawi Khan grants were made to such people whose cases had not been represented to His Majesty and that these people had acquired grants by producing spurious *farmans*. Shah Jahan issued an order which said that the collections for one *fasl* from the *madad-i-maash* lands throughout the empire, whether situated in jagir or khalsa lands, should be withheld and placed at the disposal of a custodian. The collections could be remitted to the assignees when they had produced the sanads and established their claims. However an exception was made in the case of those who were personally known to the emperor. The *farman* also laid down that those of the needy, who lived in the capital and its suburbs, should present themselves at the capital before the Sadr-us-sudur, and those who lived in the distant provinces should obtain sanads, with the consent of the Subedars and local Sadrs. The *farman* under reference was issued to the Nazims of all the provinces and caused great distress and uneasiness among the grant-holders.

However the order was not enforced and was replaced by a *farman*, issued in 1054 A.H. (1644), which relieved the grant-holders from their distress. Jahan Ara's prolonged illness made Shah Jahan very uneasy and he sought the prayers and good wishes of the pious and the needy for the speedy cure of the princess. He, therefore, cancelled the former *farman* regarding the *siyurghal* lands and issued another which was more humane and considerate. Its main clauses may be summed up as follows :—

1. The collections from *madad-i-maash* lands and the income pertaining to *wazifah*, which had been formerly withheld, should be handed over to the grant-holders and thereafter no custodian was to be appointed.

2. The inhabitants of the capital and its suburbs should approach the Sadr-us-sudur and get their sanads verified. In other provinces one who held grant land by virtue of a *farman* issued by Akbar, confirmed by Jahangir and renewed by Shah Jahan should be allowed to retain his holdings. The local Sadrs with the concurrence of the Nazims, however, should verify his sanads and make enquiries about the death or disappearance of the grantee, possession and occupation. They were enjoined not to interfere with the holdings of such persons as were not soldiers.

3. In case of a deceased person to whom the grant had been made along with his or her sons and daughters and the fact specifically stated in the *farman*, his or her holdings should be assigned to his or her heir.[2]

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1. Sayyid Jalal was appointed Sadr-us-sudur after the dismissal of Musawi Khan in the year 1053 A.H. (1743 A.D.).

2. *Badshahnamah*, II, pp. 365-366,

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AUTHORITIES

Akbarnama; Ain-i-Akbari; Muntakhab-ut-twarikh; Tuzk-i-Jahangiri; Badshahnama; Amal-i-saleh; Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign; Farhang-i-kardani ; Farmans and *Parwanas* preserved at the Regional Records Office, Allahabad; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*

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The Origin and Original Habitat of the Chauhāns

By

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[Dr. Dasharath Sharma has critically examined some of the myths and theories relating to the origin and original habitat of the Chauhans. He has condemned the myths and also refuted the view held by Col. Todd, Dr. V A. Smith, Dr. Bhandarkar and others. He believes that the Chauhans, who originally belonged to the tract extending approximately from Pushkar in the south to Harṣa in the north were formerly Brahmanas but later on changed their priestly calling as the time demanded and entered the Kṣatriya fold —*Ed.*]

The opinions regarding the origin and original habitat of rhe valiant Chauhāns to whom, according to Tod, impartial opinion must assign "the van in the long career of arms" are almost as numerous as the authors who have thought it fit to deal with the subject. Bards and Rājasthānī chroniclers regard them as fire-born; their *gotrochchāra* makes them lunar Kṣatriyas and Dr. G. H. Ojha, relying on a number of old *kāvyas* and other records, maintains that they are Rājpūts of the solar race. Ratnapāla's plates state that Chāhamāna was born from the eyes of the "lord of the eastern quarter."[1] Further, there are the views of many writers, Indian as well as European, who regard them as descendants of some foreign tribe or other. As in the babel of these opinions it is not easy to see where the truth lies, an attempt will, in the first instance, be made to state a bit fully, wherever necessary, the arguments underlying the more important of the theories referred to above; secondly to submit them to criticism; and finally to give my personal view, without in the least presuming, to assert that it would be the last word on the subject.

The Agnikula Myth

Rājasthānī bards and chroniclers, of whom Chand Bardāī is the best known, regard the Chauhāns as fire-born His account of the origin of the tribe can be thus summarised.

"Viśvāmitra, Gautama, Agastya and other sages began a great sacrifice on Mount Ābū. *Daityas* (demons), who always dislike such rites, rendered it impure by showering down flesh, blood, bones, urine and many other impure things. With a view to ridding the sages from this nuisance, Vasiṣṭha created, from the sacrificial pit, three warriors,

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1. *E. I.*, XI, pp. 308 ff.

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Parihāra, Chaulukya, and Paramāra, but none of these three succeeded in the work assigned to him. Vasiṣṭha, therefore, dug a new pit, and as a result of the oblations poured into it, there issued forth a four-armed figure, of lofty stature, red-coloured, red-faced, and bearing weapons in all his hands. The sages named him Chahuvāṇa. With the assistance of Āśāpurī, whom he thereafter regarded as his family deity, this warrior defeated the *daityas* and drove them back to the nether regions of Pātāla."[1]

This story is repeated with a few alterations here and there by the Sisāṇā inscription of the Chauhāns of Bedlā,[2] Naiṇsī's *Khyāt*,[3] *Hammīra-rāso* of Jodharāja,[4] *Vaṁśabhāskara* of Sūryamalla Miśraṇa,[5] and the *History of the Chauhāns of Mainpurī*.[6]

No serious student of history can, of course, believe that fire actually produced warriors. But when one is ready to grant the existence of lunar and solar Kṣatriyas, the conception of an *Agnikula* race does not necessarily appear weird and uncommon, and we could easily put the Chauhāns among the fire-born tribes, if there were any historical warrant for it. But research into their history shows that, as far as the Chauhāns are concerned, the Agnikula myth does not go beyond the end of the fifteenth century of the Christian era. In fact, it appears to be nothing more than the creation of the poetic or imitative brains of bards who, in their hunt for a fine pedigree for their patrons, happened to light on the story of the fire-origin of the Paramāras in some book like the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*. The bards found that it could not only easily but also splendidly explain the origin of the Chauhāns, too, if they simply added the further detail that the Chauhāns, though coming from the same fire-pit as the Paramāras, the Pratihāras and the Chaulukyas,[7] were the last to be born and succeeded where their elder Agnikula brethren had failed. It really was a fine piece of work ; but great, indeed, would have been the astonishment of these bards who adopted it, if they had known that the story of the Paramāras' origin was, in its turn, as shown

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1. *Pṛthvīrāj rāso*, Part I, pp. 45-51.
2. From Dr. G H. Ojha's transcript.
3. I, p. 119, Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā edition.
4. pp. 7-14.
5. p. 515.
6. *Chauhān-chandrikā*, pp. 41-43.
7. It is to be noted that the Pratihāras and the Chaulukyas too are not *Agnikulas* according to their early records On the origin of the Pratihāras see my paper on the subject, *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. II.

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elsewhere (*Rājasthān Bhāratī*, III, 2, 2-8) by me, based probably on a similar legend in the *Rāmāyaṇa* regarding the Śakas, the Pahlavas, the Kāmbojas and some other non-Aryan tribes who are said to have been created by Vasiṣṭha to fight against Viśvāmitra, the snatcher of his cow, Kāmadhenu.[1] In the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* the first Paramāra is said to have been created for the same purpose, *i.e.* for bringing back Vasiṣṭha's cow.[2]

Myths of origin from Indra, the Moon and the Sun

The myth of origin from Indra is found only in the Sevāḍī plates of Ratnapāla.[3] The descent from the Moon, besides being mentioned in their *gotrochchāra*, which speaks of the Chauhāns as *Somavaṁśins*, i.e., Kṣatriyas of the lunar family,[4] appears to have been accepted as true at one time by the Chauhān rulers of Chandrāvatī.[5] The *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, a Chauhān *praśasti* (probably of Vigraharaja IV's reign) ; the *Hammīramahākāvya* and the *Surjanacharita* describe the Chauhāns as solar Kṣatriyas.[6] Among modern writers, Dr. G. H. Ojha has written much to support the Chauhāns' claim to solar origin.[7] The *Vaṁśabhāskara*, the authority of which is utilised by some writers of the traditional school, tries to strike a compromise between the theories of solar and fire origin by regarding the Sun and Fire as ultimately identical.[8]

The above myths go against and, in a way, refute each other. The theory of Aindra origin, as already stated, is supported by only one solitary epigraph, and even regarding that we are not sure whether the writer ever meant Indra by the word '*prāchī-dikpati*.' He might have mistakenly used it for the Sun, the actual lord of the eastern quarter for an unsophisticated mind. The theory of lunar origin is never mentioned before V. 1377, and the theory of solar origin cannot be traced earlier than the middle of the twelfth century. Thus, even the earliest of these theories is not old enough to settle satisfactorily the question of the Chauhāns' real origin; it merely registers the Śākambharī Chauhāns' claim

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1. *Bālakāṇḍa*, Cantos 54-55.
2. Canto XI, vv 64-71.
3. See footnote 1.
4. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajsthan*. II, p. 357.
5. See verse 8 of Luṇṭigadeva's Abū inscription (V. 1377).
6. *PV.*, I and II: *prasasti*, vv. 35-37: *HM.*, I, 14-17, *SC*, VIII, 151-62.
7. *History of Rajpūtānā*, I, pp. 72-74.
8. See for instance Pandit Jhabarmalla Sharmā's paper in the *Rajasthāni*, Calcutta, III, Part 2, pp. 1-8.

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to solar descent, without providing a single cogent argument to prove it. Even if we take all the statements in its support at their face value, they would not prove that the Chauhāns belonged to a pure Kṣatriya stock, because according to these the first Chauhān was born after Kaliyuga had set in, the Buddha had been an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu and the Mlechchhas had begun invading India.[1] To be a member of the solar dynasty of the epics, he should therefore have been some very late descendant of Ikṣvāku, the first solar king of India. Curiously enough, however, he is described as such neither by the early *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, nor the medieval *Hammīra-mahākāvya*, nor the comparatively late *Surjanacharita* of Chandraśekhara. He is mentioned instead as a son of the Sun-god, i.e., as an uncle of Ikṣvāku, if we must decide at all the question of the exact relationship between Ikṣvāku and Chāhamāna; and that such uncles, when separated from each other not merely by some generations but aeons, actually had little connection with each other or with the epic solar Kṣatriyas needs perhaps no demonstration. We know that like Chāhamāna, the monkey king Sugrīva, the divine twins Aśvins, the fiery Revanta, and Yama were reputedly the sons of *Sūrya*.[2] Yet does any one maintain that they were solar Kṣatriyas (with their pedigrees running up to Rāma and Raghu) or even blood relations in any recognised sense ?

The value of the myth

But, though individually indefensible, cumulatively the above myths are not without considerable value regarding the problem of the Chauhāns' origin. According to the Achaleśvara inscription of Luṇṭigadeva, the first Chauhān was created after the solar and lunar races had become extinct.[3] His services were needed to put down the *asuras* interfering with the sacrificial rites of the sage Vatsa. The Agnikula myths centre round a similar core, though external details, no doubt, are quite different. The myths of solar origin regard Chāhamāna as a Kṣatriya created in Kaliyuga. He was produced, they say, to wipe out the Mlechchas.[4] Thus these myths agree in pointing to two facts:—

1. That the Chauhāns were not tribally connected with the old lunar and solar Kṣatriyas.
2. That the Chauhāns probably gained recognition as Kṣatriyas rather late in history, and most probably by fighting for Hinduism against the non-Hindus.

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1. *PV.*, I, 36-74.
2. Ibid., II, 31-34.
3. क्षितौ प्रशान्तौ किल सूर्यसोमवंशौ विशालौ प्रवरौ हि पूर्वम् ।
4. *PV.*, II, 68.

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The views of Tod, V. A. Smith and William Crooke

More than a century ago, Tod seems to have discovered these truths. But with the imperfect data at his disposal, he regarded the Chauhāns as descendants of the non-Aryan Takṣakas.[1] V. A. Smith believes them to be related to the three other Agnikula races, viz., the Pratihāras, the Paramāras and the Solankīs, and approvingly quotes William Crooke's remark that the Agnikula myth "represents a rite of purgation by fire, the scene of which was the Southern Rājpūtānā, whereby the impurity of the foreigners was removed and they became fitted to enter the Hindu caste system."[2]

Though not without a modicum of truth, the above views cannot be accepted, because while making too much of the Agnikula myth which, as shown above, is an invention of perhaps the fifteenth century, they wholly ignore the evidence of the inscriptions of the so-called Agnikula races according to which the Pratihāras of Maṇḍor were the descendants of a Brāhmaṇa, Hariśchandra, and his Kṣatriya wife, Bhadrā; the Paramāras perhaps of the Vāsiṣṭha Brāhmaṇas of the Ābū area; and the Chauhāns of a Brāhamaṇa claiming Vatsa *gotra*.[3]

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's theory

Much more comprehensive, far better reasoned, and almost brilliant, though no less boldly speculative than these is the theory of the Chauhāns' origin advanced by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who maintains that, most probably, they were Khazars and originally belonged to the priestly section of some foreign tribes.[4]

The first of Dr. Bhandarkar's theses, viz., that they were Khazars is based on a coin of Vāsudeva Vahman. On its obverse is a legend in Sassanian-Pahlavī which reads "Saf Varsu Tef-Sri Vasudeva" in the inner circle to the right, and on the margin "Saf Varsu Tef-Wahman Multān Malkā" meaning Śrī Vāsudeva Vahman, king of Multān. On the reverse we have Śrī Vāsudeva in Nāgarī characters and the Pahlavī legend "Tukan Zaulistan Sapardalakshan," i.e., Ṭakka, Zābulistān and Sapādalakṣa. As the letters *v* and *ch* were in old Indian scripts so similar to each other that

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1. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I, p. 80.

2. *Early History of India*, 3rd edition, p. 412.

3. For the Maṇḍo Pratihāras' origin see my paper in the *Birla Vidya Vihar Magazine*, Vols. II and III, pp. 11-20, for the Paramāras the *Rājasthān Bharatī*, III, Pt. 2, pp. 2-8, and for the Chauhāns my view in this chapter.

4. Dr. Bhandarkar's article in *IA.*, XLI pp. 25-29.

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one could easily be mistaken for the other, Dr. Bhandarkar concludes that "Vāsudeva Chahman," i.e., Vāsudeva Chāhamāna is the right reading instead of "Vāsudeva Vahman" as read by Rapson, and that this Vāsudeva Chāhamāna, again, should be identified with Vāsudeva mentioned in the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* and the *Prabandhakośa* as the founder of the Śākambharī line of the Chauhāns. The *Prabandhakośa* places him in V. 608, but according to Dr. Bhandarkar this dating is wrong, because the coin discussed above shows that he could not probably have flourished before 627 A. D. Vāsudeva of the coin probably was a chieftain of a foreign tribe called Khazar which later on came to be known as Gurjara. So Vāsudeva Chāhamāna of the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* and the *Prabandhakośa*, with whom the Khazar Vāsudeva has been identified, and naturally also the tribe to which he belonged, must be regarded as of foreign extraction.

It is not difficult to disprove the above view. It is undoubtedly easy to read Chahman for Vahman in the Nagārī script of the seventh century, the two letters being similar as pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar. But how does he explain its being read as Wahman, when the legend is actually in Sassanian-Pahlavī script? The coin under discussion has, according to Rapson,[1] the name Śrī Vāsudeva only in Nāgarī characters and all the remaining portions in Sassanian-Pahlavī; and in this foreign script, in which alone, it may be noted, the name Vahman occurs, the letters *v* and *ch* are quite dissimilar. According to Dr. J. M. Unvala, with whom I had some correspondence on the subject, the forms of these two letters in Sassanian, invariably, are ! (v) and C(ch) respectively in all the three positions, initial, medial and final. Only very rarely are archaic forms met with, viz., 2 and ʕ or ʕ. "In all the forms, however, *v* and *ch* are never ambiguous and *v* cannot be read as *ch* or vice versa." As this similarity of the letters, however, forms the very foundation of Dr. Bhandarkar's theory of the Khazar origin of the Chauhāns, needing as it does as its first requisite the similarity of the words Vahman and Chahman, it loses all its force the moment we realise that the letters *v* and *ch* do not possess in Sassanian-Pahlavī the similarity that they have in the Nāgarī of the seventh century

Priestly Origin

In support of the second part of his theory, namely, that the Chauhāns "belonged to some priestly class of foreign tribes," Dr. Bhandarkar gives the following reasons :—

(1) Sāmanta, the earliest prince mentioned in records after

1. Rapson's *Indian Coins*, pp. 30-31.

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Vāsudeva, has been called a Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa *gotra* in the Bijoliā inscription.

(2) The poet Rājaśekhara's marriage with Avantisundarī, a Chauhān lady, can be explained only if we regard the Chauhāns as Brāhmaṇas.

Partial correctness of the view

We agree partially with this part of Dr. Bhandarkar's theory. That there is not much ground for assigning a foreign origin to the Chauhāns has been shown above. But that they were originally Brāhmaṇas has to be conceded, though not on the basis of Dr. Bhandarkar's second reason, the marriage of Avantisundarī with the Brāhmaṇa poet, Rājaśekhara, in as much as *anuloma* marriages were till then permitted both by canonical and customary law.[1] Personal examination of the cast of the Bijoliā inscription, kindly made over to me by the late Dr. G. H. Ojha, would convince others, as it has convinced me, that Dr. Bhandarkar is right in regarding विप्रः श्रीवत्सगोत्रेभूत् as the right reading instead of विप्रश्रीवत्सगोत्रेभूत् of Kaviraja Shyamaldas's defective edition. This obviously is an unambiguous statement of the Brāhmaṇa origin of the Chauhāns and in spite of all the attempts to explain it away,[2] we feel inclined to believe it, when we find it supported fully by the *Khām Khān Rāso* of the Muslim Chauhān author, Jān,[3] and in a great measure by the Sūndhā inscription of the Chauhāns of Jālor and the Achaleśvara inscription of the Chauhāns of Chandrāvatī.[4] Jān makes Chahuvāṇa a descendant of Vatsa of the *Jāmadagnya* gotra ; the inscriptions state that the first Chauhān was born from the eye and meditation of the sage Vatsa. The Chauhāns' *gotrochchāra*, too, speaks of them as *vatsagotrins*, and though this by itself would be no strong argument, because the Rājpūts are known at times to have adopted the *gotras* of their

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1. Ibn Khurdādbā mentions *anuloma* marriages as current in his time. The Brāhmaṇa Hariś'chandra married the Kṣatriyā Bhadrā (EI, XVIII, p. 95). Saṅgamarāja of Kāshmīr gave his daughter in marriage to a Brāhmaṇa (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII, 10-12).

2. Mr. Akshaya Keerty Vyas equates *vipra* with *Mahīdeva* and the latter term with Mahārāja, even though there is not a single instance in the vast range of Sanskrit literature and epigraphy where the word *vipra* can conclusively be shown to have been used for a Kṣatriya.

3. vv. 45-48. For a fuller discussion see my introduction to the *Rāsi* (No. 13, राजस्थान पुरातनग्रंथमाला, जयपुर)

4. Sūndha inscription, v. 4 and Achales'vara inscription, v. 7.

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purohitas,[1] the additional evidence supplied in this connection by the records just mentioned disposes one to treat this as an additional reason for regarding Sāmanta of Śākambharī and his ancestors as Brāhmaṇās who like the Pallavas, Kādambas. and the Guhilas were either forced or induced by the prevailing conditions to give up their priestly calling and enter the Kṣatriya fold.[2]

The original habitat of the Chauhāns

With our main problem thus settled, at least tentatively, we pass on to the next one most connected with it, namely, that of the original habitat of the Chauhāns. Negatively, we might, after our criticism of Dr. Bhandarkar's view and the Agnikula myth, state that it was neither Ābū nor probably a foreign country. On the positive side we have the following indications:—

(1) Inscriptions as well as old historical chronicles connect them with Jāṅgaladeśa and Sapādalakṣa.[3]

(2) Tradition maintains that they moved northwards and conquered Delhi from the Tomaras, which is a fact corroborated by epigraphic evidence.[4]

(3) The description in the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* puts Vāsudeva's capital a little to the east of Sāmbhar.[5]

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1. For the controversy on the *gotras* of the Rājputs see C. V. Vaidya's *History of Medieval India*, II, p. 50 ff. and Dr. G. H. Ojha's *History of Rajputana*, I, pp. 347 ff. The matter can only be of secondary interest to a student of Chauhān history, because Sāmanta's *gotra* can only be his own and not his *purohita's*. He is mentioned by our authorities not only as a *Vatsagotrin* but also as a *vipra* or Brāhmaṇa; and a Brāhmaṇa is required by no authority old or new, to take the *gotra* of a *purohita*.

2. For the Pallavas and Kādambas see Dr. D. C. Sircar's *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp, 225 ff. and Dr. K. P. Jayaswal's *History of India, 150 A. D. to 350 A. D.*, pp. 225 ff. For the Guhilas read Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's *Guhilots*, *JPASB*, 1909, pp. 167 ff. and Mrs. M. Sharma's *Origin of the Guhilots*, *IHQ*, XXVIII, 83 f. The progenitor of the Kādambas was, according to their earliest inscription, a Brāhmaṇa named Mayūras'arman. That the first Kādamba should have been, after the lapse of some time, regarded as a four-armed figure sprung from a drop of sweat that fell on the ground near a *kadamba* tree from the forehead of S'iva is an interesting fact showing how mythical accounts could be made up regarding the origin of important historical figures. Bappa, the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewār, is mentioned as a *vipra* even up to Kumbhā's time.

3. See *IA*, 1912, p. 196 ; *ASR*, VI, Plate XXI ; S'*urathotsava*, II, 46; *Sukṛtasaṅkīrtana*, II, 43 etc.

4. See *JPASB*, XLIII p. 108 and my paper on the Tomaras of Delhi in the *Rājasthān Bhāratī*, III, parts 3-4. *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso* also speaks of the Chauhāns having reached Delhi from Ajmer.

5 Vāsudeva is made to start from the western extremity of the lake Sāmbhar, to have the town of Sāmbhar on the way, and to proceed from there to his capital, an anonymous city which may have been in the Ananta district of Sapādalakṣa.

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(4) The Harṣa inscription (V. 1030) shows that Ananta province (the tract situated near Sikar in the Jaipur division of Rājasthān) was the Chauhāns' old seat of power. It was here that "*tantrapāla*" Kṣmāpāla tried to attack Vigraharāja II's grandfather Vākpati, and it was here that the Chauhāns had the temple of their family deity, Harṣadeva.

(5) The Bijoliā inscription regards Sāmanta as an *Ananta-sāmanta*, which in the light of the description in the inscription can only mean that he was a *sāmanta* of the Ananta province.[1]

(6) The Bijoliā inscription mentions also his being originally at Ahichchhatrapura, a name not inappropriate for the capital of *Ananta-gochara*, i e., the land of Ananta, the lord of Nāgas.[2]

(7) The *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, *Hammīramahākāvya* and the *Surjanacharita* give Pushkar as Chāhamāna's birth-place.

No part of this evidence will go against us, if we conclude that their cradle land was in the tract extending approximately from Pushkar in the south to Harṣa in the north. It had every right to be called Jāṅgaladeśa on account of abounding in *pīlu*, *karīra* and *śamī* trees, the characteristic vegetation of such a tract,[3] and was also included in the territory which,

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1. The words of the Bijoliā inscription can be interpreted in two ways :

(*a*) Sāmanta, a *sāmanta* or chief of Ananta.

(*b*) Sāmanta who had *ananta* or innumerable *sāmantas*.

In view of the statements in the Harṣa inscription, I have adopted the first sense, though the second one is not impossible and the poet might have intended to convey that too in addition to its primary sense. A third interpretation, Sāmanta, who was known as Ananta, suggested by Dr. H. C. Ray, can be regarded as incorrect.

2. For one more indication in the Bijoliā inscription see the last two sentences of the paper.

3.

आकाशशुभ्र उच्चश्च स्वल्पपानीयपादपः ।
शमीकरीरबिल्वार्कपीलूकर्कन्धुसंकुलः ॥
हरिणैर्णर्ष्यपृषद्गोकर्णखरसंकुलः ।
सुस्वादुफलवान्देशो वातलः जाङ्गलः स्मृतः॥

(*Śabdarthachintamaṇi*, p. 991)

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according to the *Skanda-purāṇa* was known as Śākambhara-*sapādalakṣa*[1] and has been mentioned as Siwālikh by Minhāj-us-Sirāj.[2] The Harṣa inscription regards it as the Chauhāns' land, and it was so also according to the Bijoliā inscription, if my interpretation of the term *ananta-sāmanta* is correct. No Ahichchhatrapura is to be found there at present.[3] But that it could have existed in this tract alone can be inferred from the fact that Vāsudeva, the earliest Chauhān ruler known to us, is connected with the Sāmbhar lake, and another very early ruler, Nṛpa or Naradeva, the successor of Sāmanta of Ahichchhatrapura, is described as reigning at Pūrṇatalla or Pūntalā in the Jodhpur Division of Rājasthān.[4] Ahichchhatrapura may have been somewhere between Pūntalā and Sāmbhar; at least it could not have been very far from them, for we have no evidence whatsoever to put the early Chauhāns in any area except that indicated in the beginning of this paragraph.

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1. See the Kumārīkhaṇḍa of the *Skanda Purāṇa* which mentions a few other *Sapādalakṣas*, i.e. territorial units supposed to have 1¼ lac villages. The Chauhāns belonged to the Śākambhara-*sapādalakṣa* which probably is the territorial unit meant by Wassāf who writes that "Siwālik contains 125,000 towns and villages (*ED.*, III, p. 31)".

2. Read for instance the following :—

(a) "Again, he (Muhammad Bahlim) rebelled, and founded the fortress of Naghāwr, in the territory of Siwālikh" (p. 110).

(b) "This Tāj-ud-dīn was in the service of Malik Karīm-ud-Dīn Hamzah, at Nāgawr of Siwālikh." (p. 200).

(c) "The seat of territory, Ajmir, with the whole of the Siwālikh (territory), such as Hānsī Sirsutī and other tracts were subjugated." (pp. 468-469).

(d) A year subsequent to this, in 624 A. D., he marched against the fort of Mandāwar within the limits of the Siwālikh territory. P. 11, Raverty's translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*.

3. Dr. G. H. Ojha and Dewan Bahadur H. B. Sarda, however, think that Ahichchhatrapura still exists in the form of Nāgor, a town in the Jodhpur Division. Their chief arguments for identifying the towns are :—

(*a*) That the names Ahichchhatrapura and Nāgor are synonymous.

(*b*) Nāgor was at a hard day's ride from Sāmbhar. The *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* puts Vāsudeva's capital, presumably Ahichchhatrapura, at the same distance from Sāmbhar.

The synonimity, however, is doubtful, because not only Ahichchhatrapura is not an exact equivalent of Nāgor or Nāgapura, the exact equivalent being Ahipura, but also because Nāgapura or Nāgor, in spite of its being a well-known Jaina *tīrtha*, is never mentioned as Ahichchhatrapura in any Jaina work. Even more unsound is the argument from the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*. The description there shows that Vāsudeva passed the night in the temple of Sākambharī. (See the last verse of Canto IV). Early in the morning, he started from there for his capital which he reached a little after sunrise. So naturally Vāsudeva's capital could not have been at a hard day's ride from Sāmbhar, at least according to the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*.

4. See verses 11 and 12 of the Bijolia inscription. Viṣṇu in verse 11 equals Vāsudeva.

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Sultan-Quli, the Founder of the Medieval State of Tilangana

By

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[Prof. H. K. Sherwani has attempted to solve certain problems relating to the life of Sultan-Quli, viz., (1) the date of his arrival at Bidar, (2) his supposed assumption of kingship and (3) the manner and occasion of his death. He holds the opinion that Sultan-Quli came to India near about 1478. A. D. and that he never assumed the royal title. As regards his assasination Prof. Sherwani balieves that his son Jamshid was not involved in the conspiracy which led to Sultan-Quli's death. —*Ed.*]

The medieval state of Tilangana, also called the kingdom of Golkunda, played a very important role in Indian history. It covered the Tilangana districts of the erstwhile Hyderabad state, a very large portion of the modern Andhra and a slice of the present day state of Madras, and historically it formed a link between the Bahmanis and the Asafjahis. Its importance also lay in the fact that it was the respository of the purely *dakhni* culture which was itself an amalgam of rhe culture of the Hindu inhabitants and the Muslims migrants from North India and overseas, and which had been mellowed by another cultural wave from the north which goes under the name of Mughal culture. The founder of this state, Sultan-Quli,[1] arrived in the Deccan when it was in a state of turmoil and the government centered at the capital, Muhammadabad. Bidar had really ceased to be effective in the provinces or *atraf*, as they were called. While the provincial Governors or *tarafdars* owned in a loose way the suzerainty of the scion of the Bahmani ruler who happened to sit on the tottering throne, they had virtually become autonomous in their provinces in the widest connotation of the term.[2] It is for the reason of this

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1. Although the name *Sultan-Quli* might suggest royal dignity, the word *Sultan* was only a part of his name, much in the same way as "Earl" and "King" are found to be the names of private individuals in England and the U. S. A. to-day. In the same way *Malik*, which no doubt originally meant king, was a title frequently granted in medieval India to high dignitaries of Turkish and even Negro descent, such as Malik Kafur, Malik 'Ambar and others. This word is met with in Northern India, especially the Punjab, as the name of persons even to-day, while in the South one often comes across the name "Bad-hah" indicating persons who have absolutely no affinity with any royal house.

2. Sherwani, *Bahmanis* of the *Deccan* (*Bahmanis*), p. 360.

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unsettled state of affairs that certain problems dealing with Sultan-Quli's life have remained unsolved so far. These are connected with

(1) The date of Sultan-Quli's arrival at Bidar,

(2) his supposed assumption of kingship, and

(3) the manner and occasion of his death.

The year of Sultan-Quli's arrival at Bidar

Our chroniclers are not unanimous about the year in which Sultan-Quli arrived from Central Asia in the Deccan,[1] and we are therefore forced to draw conclusions from the data that we have got. It is admitted that it was a crisis in Sultan-Quli's family which forced his father Pir-Quli to send his young son along with his uncle Allah-Quli to India. This crisis occurred after the accession of Amir Ya'qub to the leadership of the Aq-Quwinlus on 1.10.882/6.1.1478. There is no doubt that Pir-Quli sent his brother and son to India for the purpose of safety almost immediately after this, as Amir Ya'qub began to make short work of the members of the Qara-Quwinlu tribe to which Pir-Quli belonged, and the party must have reached Muhammadabad-Bidar during the reign of the Bahmani Sultan Muhammad III whose reign extended to 5.2.887/26.3.1482, and not in the time of his successor Shihabu'd-din Mahmud Shah, as is asserted in *Tarikh Muhammad Qutb-Shah*.[2]

Another clue to the approximate date of Sultan-Quli's arrival in India is found in the statement that he was 'in the prime of his life' when he reached the Deccan.[3] In order to verify this statement we have to compute back from his age at the time of his death according to the number of years he is supposed to have spent in India. As will be seen later, his death occurred on 2.6.950/2.9.1543. His age at the time of his death is variously described as 'more than 85, 90 and about 99.[4] There is

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1. Thus, Muzaffar Khafi, *Tazkiratu'l-Muluk* MSS., Asafiya, Tarikh, 134, fol. 134, says that he came to India twice, staying on the second time. *Q.S.*, 33 says that he came to India as a mere child the first time. This seems improbable as he could have come only after Amir Yaqub's accession as the leader of the Aq-Quwinlus in January 1478, and if we take childhood to be the age under 10 he would be only 75 at the time of his murder, which goes against all the data about his age at the time of his murder.

2. See *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shah* (*Q. S.*), 34.

3. *Ibid.*, 32,

4. *Khafi Khan, Muntakhabu'l-Lubab*, (*Munt.*), 372, says that he was "more than 85". Mir 'Alam, *Hadiqatu'l-Alam*, 83, that he was 90, and *Q.S.*, 107, that he was "about 99". Here it is necessary to mention that Briggs, while translating parts of *Q.S.* in his *History of the Rise of Mahomedan Power in India* (*Briggs*), III, 377, says that Sultan-Quli was 90 at the time of his murder.

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thus a difference of about fifteen years between the shortest and the longest periods, and it seems that 90 would probably be nearest the correct age of Sultan-Quli when he was murdered. Counting back, therefore, he would be born about 860/1456, and would be about 22 at the time of his arrival in this country in 882/1478, which fits in well with the statement that he was 'in the prime of his life' when he reached India.

There is, again, a wide divergence in the matter of the years spent by Sultan-Quli in India, and they range between 24 years of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and 33 years of *Firishta* to 60 years of *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shah* popularly known as *Tarikh-i-Qutb-Shahi*.[1] The *Tabaqat* and *Firishta* are obviously wrong, for if we accept their statements we would have to take Sultan-Quli's age at the time of his arrival to be at least 57 or 60 years, and it would not be possible to account for the long period of time between Amir Ya'qub's accession to the leadership of the Aq-Quwinlu tribe and the arrival of Sultan-Quli and his uncle in the Deccan. Moreover in such a case most of Sultan-Quli's exploits between 892/1487 and 925/1519 would find no place in history. The *Qutb-Shahi's* 60 years err slightly on the other side by just seven or eight years and may be taken to be approximately correct for, if he arrived in India about 882 1478, he would have served in various capacities in the country for 67 or 68 years at the time of his murder.

Sultan-Quli's supposed assumption of kingship

This problem has proved to be one of the most intractable of all. *Firishta* says that Sultan-Quli declared his independence in 918/1512, i.e., 23 years after the date wrongly ascribed by him to 'the declaration of independence' by Yusuf 'Adil, Governor of Bijapur. We are not concerned here with the latter date, as it has been disproved elsewhere.[2] So far as Sultan-Quli's 'declaration' is concerned, many eminent writers like the late Sir Wolseley Haig, have been led by *Firishta* to date it in 1512.[3] But

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1. Nizamu'd-din Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbari* (*Tab*) 343; Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrahimi* (*Fer.*), II, 168, *Briggs*, III, 324; *Q.S.*, 107.

2. *Bahmanis*, 390-94, 419: Sherwani, *Independence of Bahmani Governors*, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1945, p. 159.

3 *Fir.*, II, 168. See *Cambridge History of India*, (*C. H. I.*) III. 430; Haig, *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, 3. The question was first tackled in the light of the inscription on the *mihrab* of the Masjid-i Safa in his well reasoned out article entitled *The Date of Sultan-Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk's assuming the Title of King* in the *Journal of the Hyderabad Archæological Society*, 1918, p. 89. At the end of the article the author says that it cannot possibly be inferred that Sultan-Quli had declared his independence earlier than 924/1518. But Dr. Yazdani stops here and assumes that independence was declared in 924/1518. For

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Dr. G. Yazdani has conclusively proved from the inscription over the *mihrab* of the Masjid-i Safa opposite the Fateh Darwaza of Golkunda Fort that Sultan-Quli could not have declared his independence before 924/1518, for the inscription says that the mosque was built by Sultan-Quli "during the reign of.....Mahmud Shah son of Muhammad al-Bahmani." But this led many historians merely to advance the date of the so-called declaration of independence on the part of Sultan-Quli from 1512 to the year of Mahmud Shah's death, i.e., 1518.[1]

Most of the data that we possess, however, leads us to other conclusions. There is no doubt that such a declaration is mentioned by *Firishta* as well as in the *Tarikh-i-Qutb Shahi* under different dates,[2] but it must be remembered that while the latter takes pains to fortify his statement by reference to 'Deccan Histories,' which are not named, *Firishta* categorically states that Sultan-Quli continued to send "presents both in kind and in money" to the *rois fainéants* at Bidar right up to the end of the dynasty. The *Qutb-Shahi* is quite explicit that

> "Sultan-Quli was content with what the late king had granted to him and contrary to what other rulers (*salatin*) of the Deccan did, he continued to prove by his deeds that he was ever faithful and never cast his eyes towards the lands held by the Bahmani Sultan."[3]

Briggs, while translating extracts from the *Qutb-Shahi*, gives a short description of how Ahmad Nizamu'l-Mulk, Isma'il 'Adil and 'Alau'd-din 'Imadu'l-Mulk declared their independence and proclaimed themselves kings; but when he comes to Sultan-Quli he simply mentions, on the authority, no doubt, of the "*History of Mahomed Kooly Kootb Shah*" that

> "Sooltan Koolly Kootb-ool-Moolk, who still continued his allegiance to the shadow of royalty which remained, retained

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the complete inscription see *Epig. Indo-Mssl.* 1913-14, p. 42. *Q.S.*, 55, puts down the building of the mosque *after* his supposed assumption of kingship. It is clear that Sultan-Quli accepted Mahmud's sovereignty at the time of the erection of the mosque, and it seems that what *Q.S.* means is autonomy not independence.

1. Thus in Siddiqi, *Tarikh-i Golkunda*, p. 25 ; Siddiqi, *The Qutb Shahs, Journal of the Dakan History and Culture*, I, 1, 104. Professor Siddiqi seems to have some doubt in his mind, for he says that "this year *may be regarded* as the year of the declaration." For the date of Shihabu'd-din Mahmud's death, see *Bahmanis*, 417-19. The late Hakim Syed Shamsu'l-lah Qadiri, in his article on *The Progress of Learning in the Deccan during the Qutb Shahi Period* in the *Risala Tarikh*, April—June, 1929, p. 107, says that Sultan-Quli adopted the royal title, but he gives no references.

2. *Q.S.*, 54 ; *Fir.*, II, 167.

3. *Q.S.*, 52.

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possession of Tulingana making Golconda his seat of government."[1]

Although there is no doubt that the weakness of the central government after the death of Mahmud Gawan led to almost complete autonomy on the part of the governors and large fief-holders of the Bahmani kingdom, there is also ample evidence that not even the ruler of Bijapur made a formal declaration of kingship till the death of the last Bahmani sultan.[2] Sultan-Quli was, of course, no exception to this, and his continued protests of loyalty lead one to believe that he regarded himself as the vassal of the king at Bidar to the end of his day. The most authentic evidence that he never "declared his independence" may be found in the epitaph on his tomb stone which runs thus:

انتقل صاحب هذه الروضة الرضية و هو الملک الغفور السعید الشهید الغازی لوجه الله
المجاهد فی سبیل الله سلطان قلی المخاطب بقطب الملک المشهور به برے ملک[3]

In the English rendering of this epitaph Dr. Yazdani translated *malik* as 'monarch' and *barey malik* as 'the great prince,' but this translation does not correspond to the connotation of *malik* in Indian history in general and the history of the Deccan in particular. Here it does not mean a king or a sovereign at all but merely denotes a noble man, such as Malik Kafur, Malik 'Ambar, Malik Maqbul and many others who were by no means kings nor did they ever pretend to be kings. In fact the term hardly ever means a reigning monarch at all. *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shah* itself uses the epithet for practically every noble man of the Bahmani kingdom including Qutbu'l-Mulk who is invariably entitled *malik* even before his alleged "declaration of Independence" on the death of Mahmud Shah Bahmani. *Barey malik* would only denote the

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1. *Briggs*, III, 337.

2. See *Bahmanis*, 419. It is inferred from two inscriptions found at Bijapur that Ibrahim 'Adil Shah did not assume the title of king till 944/1537 and that this must be the date on which the last Bahmani monarch Kalimu'l-lah died. The question naturally arises why Sultan-Quli also did not assume kingship on that date and what his legal status was from 944 H. to the date of his murder. As regards the second point it would suffice to remind the readers of this paper that in the middle ages both Asia and Europe were studded with principalities which acknowledged no superior and still their rulers never proclaimed themselves kings. In more modern times, even after the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire by Napoleon we find that quite a number of duchies and grand-duchies continued to exist independently of any central authority. Nearer home we find that the Faruqi rulers of Khandesh never assumed the royal title although they were independent to all intents and purposes. I maintain that, in the same way, neither Sultan-Quli nor perhaps his son Jamshid proclaimed himself king, and the first ruler to do so was the fourth of the line, Ibrahim Qutb Shah.

3. *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1915-16, p. 27.

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'senior nobleman.' With these modifications in the connotation of the two terms the effective portion of the inscription on Sultan-Quli's grave should be translated thus :

"The occupant of this chosen shrine, and he is the blessed *malik*, the felicitous, the warrior in the path of God, Malik Sultan-Quli, known as the senior malik....."

This evidence, which is in a sense official, should be conclusive. But there are other important bits of evidence as well which lead one to the same conclusion. We are fortunate in possessing a copy of a book on vocabulary named the *Kanzu'l-lughat* which originally belonged to the royal library of Golkunda, in the collection of the late Nawab Salar Jung.[1] It contains on the fly leaf the genealogy of the earlier Qutb Shahi rulers in the hand of the sixth ruler Muhammad Qutb Shah himself. It reads :

> "Muhammad Qutb Shah, son of Mirza Muhammad Amin, son of Ibrahim Qutb Shah, son of Sultan-Quli Qutb'l-Mulk, son of Owais-Quli, son of Pir-Quli, son of Alwand Beg, son of Mirza Sikandar, son of Qara Yusuf, son of Qara Muhammad."

The most noticeable thing about this genealogy is that while Muhammad and Ibrahim are designated 'Qutb Shahs', Sultan Quli has not got the royal title appended to his name. If he had ever proclaimed himself king, there is not the slightest doubt that he would have been so designated by his great-grandson who was so careful about the royal title of his grandfather.

This is not all. We have further material proving our thesis in the *Tarikh Muhammad Qutb Shah* itself, which is virtually the official history of the first six rulers of the dynasty, that Sultan-Quli never assumed kingship. The table of contents of the book, which was, as was the custom of those days, as much a part of the book and as authoritative as the contents themselves, is absolutely definite that, different from later rulers, who are entitled as kings, not only Sultan-Quli but also Jamshid, who succeeded him, never assumed the royal title. The table is as follows :—

Chapter 1. Account of the fortunate and successful prince, son of an Amir, Sultan-Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk.

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1. This work is exhibited in Salar Jung Museum, room 18, and is numbered 77. It is in the hand of Syed Ashraf and was completed in Zi'l-Hijja 1045/April, 1636. The genealogy on the fly leaf is in the writing of Muhammad Qutb Shah himself who reigned from 1612 to 1626. The reproduction of this is appended herewith.

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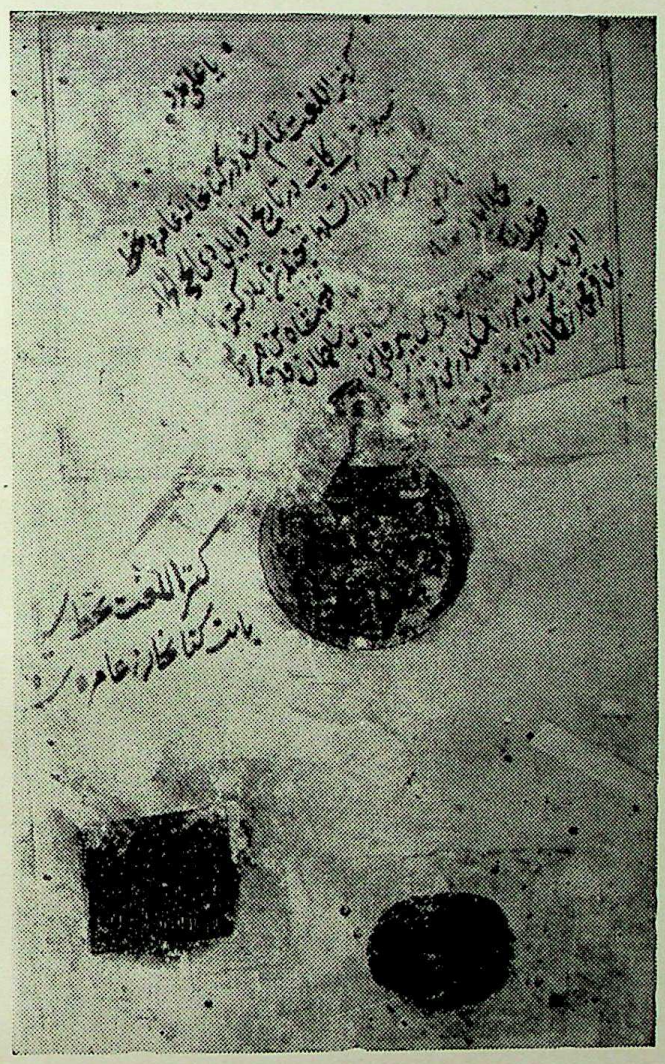

GENEALOGY OF EARLY QUTB SHAHI RULERS IN THE HANDWRITING OF MUHAMMAD QUTB SHAH.

(By courtesy of Nawab Mehdi Nawaz Jang Bahadur, President, the Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad)

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Chapter 2. Account of the events of the time of Jamshid-Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk and his son known as Subhan-Quli.

Chapter 3. Account of the life of the high and the mighty, of the equipage of Faridun, the magnificence of Solomon, with his seat on the throne of Jem, the refuge of the people, having the support of God, the father of the victorious, Ibrahim Qutb Shah.

Chapter 4. Account of the events of the time of one with the position of Solomon, the Khaqan of the age, with the sun itself as the shield of his greatness and high dignity, king of kings, with the stars as his soldiers, having the support of the Almighty, father of the victorious, Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah.

Epilogue: Account of some of the occurrences of the reign of Khaqan of the world, king of kings; whose judgments have a finality, the priceless gem of the collection of royalty, the sun of the firmament of the realm, king, refuge of the people, father of the victorious and the successful, Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah.[1] It is absolutely clear from this that the writer, who himself lived in the reign of Sultan-Quli's grandson, considered the progenitor of the Qutb Shahs as merely 'the son of an Amir' and calls even the second ruler merely Jamshid Qutbu'l-Mulk, while the boy ruler, Subhan-Quli, is only mentioned. This fully corroborates the theory that at least Sultan-Quli never assumed the royal title.[2]

3. The manner and occasion of Sultan-Quli's death

The third problem relates to the death of Sultan-Quli. Except for *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* which simply says that "after ruling the province of Golkunda for twenty-four years Sultan-Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk passed away,"[3] it is agreed on all hands that he was assassinated; but the place and the motive of the murder bear a certain amount of thinking. We cannot brush aside even *Tabaqat* for though the book was written in the far north

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1. *Q.S.*, 1.

2. It is interesting to note that Mirza Nizamu'd-din Ahmad Sa'idi's *Hadiqatu's-Salatin*, the official chronicle of the first part of Sultan 'Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shah's reign (1626-72), completed in 1054/1644, also calls the first ruler "Malik Sultan-Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk" although he prefaces it by the courtesy title of *Padshah*. We may well compare this state of affairs with the epithet 'Khusraw-i-Dakan' and even 'His Majesty' being affixed to the name and other titles of the Nizam of Hyderabad during the last days of the old regime, although His Exalted Highness never proclaimed his kingship.

3. *Tab.* 373.

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it was compiled within fifty years of the tragic occurrence at Golkunda. The *Burhan-i Ma'athir*, which was completed at Ahmadnagar in 1591, is more precise and says that Sultan-Quli was killed "by one of his own companions," but it does not mention any conspiracy in which Jamshid was involved.[1] This is significant as, after all, Ahmadnagar was not very far from Golkunda and not much time had elapsed since the murder. It is also strange that while the book should give a wealth of detail in the case of a number of occurrences in the Deccan it does not say that the murder was the result of any conspiracy in which a member of the ruling house was involved. Jamshid's name creeps in for the first time in Firishta's *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* which was compiled eight years after the *Burhan*, i.e., in 1611. As is usual with him, Firishta gives a fairly long story regarding the murder, but the description he gives seems to have a tinge of improbability about it. He says that Sultan-Quli's son Jamshid had grown old in the hope of his ascending the throne on his father's death. But the father had lived on, and Jamshid's impatience had led him to get one of his slaves to kill him whenever opportunity offered itself. The potentate was sitting one day on the bank of a sheet of water and was examining some jewels when the slave suddenly appeared from behind and stabbed Sultan-Quli to death. .After commiting the foul deed he turned to Jamshid for reward and protection, but fearing the disclosure of the conspiracy the prince beheaded him instantaneously.[2]

If we take the various details given by Firishta into account we would perceive the incongruity of the various parts of the story. If Jamshid was the chief conspirator it is unlikely that he should make it a point of being present at the time of the murder, especially when it was his interest not to be mixed up with it. Moreover if he was the eldest son and heir of his father (according to Firishta) it seems improbable that he should behead the person who had at his command made his accession easier.

As a matter of fact the *Tarikh-i Muhammad Qutb Shah*, to which reference has already been made, is categorical on the point that Jamshid was not the eldest son of Sultan-Quli. He had two other elder brothers, namely prince Haidar, who was already dead, and prince Qutbu'd-din, who had been appointed heir and successor by his father and whom Jamshid regarded as his bitter enemy. Jamshid, who seems to have been of a selfish and unscrupulous bent of mind, had conspired against Qutbu'd-din, and had, in turn, been confined in the Golkunda fort by his father. He

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1. *Bur.*, 314.
2. *Fir.* II, 168 ; *Briggs*, III, 323-24.

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was, therefore, not only impatient to take his father's place but was also smarting at the indignity of being a prisoner. In spite of his incarceration he managed to enter into a conspiracy with his own warder, the commandant of the fort, Mir Mahmud Hamadani, to kill his father. The author relates that Sultan-Quli had ordered certain alterations to be made in the mosque inside the fort, which he had built some years back, and had gone there to supervise the work personally on Thursday, 29.5.950/ 30.8.1543,[1] when it so happened that he dropped his handkerchief which had the names of the twelve *imams* embroidered on it. Considering this to be a bad omen he immediately retired to the palace and postponed his visit for a few days. The next time he went to the mosque was on Sunday, 2.6.950/2.9.1543,[2] and while he was in the act of kneeling for the *'asr* prayers he was struck with a sabre by Mir Mahmud Hamadani and killed there and then. It is reported that he received as many as twenty-three wounds ; but this seems to be an exaggeration, for a nonagenarian as he was, he should have succumbed to death at the first blow.

If we analyse the whole episode, two or three things seem to be clear. The first thing is that neither the *Burhan* nor the *Tabaqat*, which were perhaps the earliest chronicles to record Sultan-Quli's murder, mention Jamshid's name as one of the conspirators, although both of them were compiled within half a century of the murder. It is Firishta who mentions Jamshid's name for the first time as the parricide while the *Qutb-Shahi* mentions the whole episode in great detail as if the author was himself present on the occasion, basing his account on "all Deccan histories" which, however, he does not name. The strangest part of this is that when Jamshid becomes the ruler of Tilangana he receives letters of condolence from certain Deccan rulers such as Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar,[3] which would hardly have been the case if he had been openly or directly involved in the murder.

These rather incongruous facts may perhaps be explained by a hypothesis. As is well known even to the casual readers of Deccan history, Jamshid's younger brother Ibrahim had to fly to Vijayanagar for the safety of his life, and he did not return till after Jamshid's death. It was not Jamshid's but Ibrahim's descendants who ruled Golkunda and

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1. *Q.S.*, 107 ; *Briggs*, III, 377.
2. Not 4.9,1543 as in *Briggs* ; see *the Indian Ephemeris* V. 289.
3. *Munt.*, III, 272.

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made the kingdom the rendezvous of all who were wedded to culture and the arts as well as of trade and commerce. The question may well be asked whether it is not possible that Jamshid's name was dragged in as a parricide by his enemies and that they were helped in this propaganda by his unscrupulous nature and his habit of looking at things from a purely egotistic point of view.

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End of the Gupta Empire

By

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[Dr. D C. Sarkar has attempted to establish the dates which marked the end of the Imperial Gupta rule in different regions of India *viz.* West and East Malwa, U.P., Bihar, Bengal etc. and has also described the dynasties and the kings who replaced the Guptas in these territories. His imformation is mainly derived from the epigraphic source—*Ed.*]

The mighty fabric of the great empire of the Guptas, covering wide areas of Northern India, began to disintegrate about the close of the fifth century A. D. The Eran inscription[1] of the Gupta year 165=484 A. D. points to the hold of the Gupta emperor Budhagupta (477-95 A. D.) over East Malwa. But the Eran inscription[2] of the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa (circa 500-15 A. D.), dated in his first regnal year, and the Gwalior inscription[3] of his son Mihirakula (circa 515-35 A.D.), dated in his fifteenth regnal year, show that Malwa, both East and West, no longer formed parts of the Gupta empire. The Eran inscription[4] of Bhānugupta, dated in the Gupta year 191=510 A. D., suggests that the Imperial Guptas succeeded in reconquering at least parts of East Malwa while the Mandasor inscription[5] of Yaśodharman (circa 525-35 A. D.), who claims to have defeated Mihirakula and established his suzerainty over areas which even the Guptas and the Hūṇas faild to subdue, suggests that West Malwa was lost to the Imperial Guptas permanently. About this time the house of the so-called Later Guptas, who were apparently feudatories of the Imperial Guptas, began to grow powerful in East Malwa. The Maitrakas of Valabhi in Kathiawar appear to have acknowledged Gupta supremacy as late as 502 A. D.,[6] but gradually they began to assert their independence. This is in short the story of the secession of the westernmost provinces of the Gupta empire.

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1. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 335-36.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 396 f.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 400 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 335-36.
5. *Ibid.*, pp 393 ff.
6. Cf. the Bhamodra-Mohota plate of Droṇasiṁha, dated in the Gupta year 183 ; *Ibid.*, pp. 403 ff.

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Of the former feudatories of the Gupta emperors, whose rise was hastening the downfall of the empire, the most prominent were, besides the Later Guptas of East Malwa, the Maukharis settled in the U. P. and Bihar and the Gauḍas originally of south-west Bengal. Of these, the Maukharis were associated with the heart of the Gupta empire and were apparently either responsible for or intimately connected with the overthrow of the Guptas from Bihar and the U. P. The first Maukhari ruler to have assumed imperial title was Īśānavarman[1] who is mentioned in the Harsha inscription (Bara Banki Distt., U P., dated Vikrama Saṁvat 611=553-54 A. D.)[2] and the same inscription also mentions his son as an independent monarch. The fragmentary Jaunpur (U. P.) inscription seems also to belong to the same king.[3] These records prove that Gupta supremacy ceased to be acknowledged in the U. P. by 554 A. D. But whether Bihar, in which lay the ancient city of Pāṭaliputra, capital of the Imperial Guptas, also formed a part of Īśānavarman's dominions by that time cannot be determined with precision. The Haraha inscription speaks of Īśānavarman's victorious campaign with the Gauḍas while the Deo Baranark inscription and the Rohtasgarh seal-matrix point respectively to the occupation of the Shahabad District of Bihar about the last quarter of the sixth century first by the Maukhari kings Sarvavarman and Avantivarman, son and grandson of Īśānavarman, and then by *Mahāsāmanta* Śaśāṅka who later ascended the Gauḍa throne but had been previously ruling Shahabad apparently as a viceroy of the contemporary Gauḍa monarch.[5] This may suggest that the Maukharis had ousted Gupta rule from Bihar which had been conquered from them by the Gauḍas about the close of the sixth century. The evidence of the Deo Baranark inscription in regard to the Maukhari occupation of Bihar seems to be supported by the discovery of some earlier records[6] of a branch of the Maukhari family in the Gaya District as well as by the Sirpur Lakshmaṇa temple inscription[7] of Śivagupta (Mahāśivagupta) Bālārjuṇa (seventh century) of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa of South Kosala, which refers to a ruler named Sūryavarman,

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1. Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1602, etc.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 10.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 1601 ; *JRASB*, Vol. XI, p. 70.
4. Cf. *JRASB*, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 ff.
5. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1554, 1741 ; *JRASB*, *loc. cit.*
6. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1603-5.
7. See *Mahakosala Historical Society's Papers*, Vol. II, p. 19, verse 16.

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rightly indentified with Maukhari Īśānavarman's son of the same name, as born in the Varman family that held sway over Magadha.[1]

Professor H. C. Raychaudhuri[2] draws our attention to the following Jain tradition recorded in Jinasena's *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* (chapter LX), composed in Śaka 705 (783 A.D.) :[3]

Guptānāṁ cha śata-dvayam
ekatriṁśachcha varshāṇi
kālavidbhirudāhṛitam.....

and points out that if this tradition is to be believed, the Gupta empire collapsed 231 years after the start of the Gupta era in 320 A.D. (or 319 A.D.), that is to say, about 551 A.D. (or 550 A.D.). Professor Raychaudhuri further says, "The supremacy over Āryāvarta then passed to the houses of Mukhara (cir. A. D. 554) and Pushyabhūti (family of Harṣa, A.D. 606-47) under whom the centre of political gravity shifted from Magadha to Kanauj and that neighbourhood."

In this connection it has to be remembered that there is epigraphic proof to show that the Imperial Guptas continued to hold North Bengal as late as the Gupta year 224-543 A.D.,[4] while there is no evidence in favour of Maukhari occupation of that region. It was the Gauḍas who overthrew Gupta rule from the eastern and south-western parts of Bengal. Inscriptions of the independent rulers, Dharmāditya, Gopachandra, Samāchāradeva and Jayanāga show that they were ruling over the southern half of Bengal in the sixth century.[5] Of these, the *āditya*-ending name of Dharmāditya

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1. Cf. *JRASB*, *op. cit.*, p. 72 ; *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 277. The absence of any reference to the overlord of the chief Nandana in his Amauna (Gaya District, Bihar) plate of the Gupta year 232=551 A.D. (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1310) may suggest a confusion in the political condition of Bihar resulting from the overthrow of the Imperial Guptas. Since the Haraha inscription, while describing the achievements of Maukhari Īśānavarman, speaks of his victory over the Gauḍas but of no conflict with the Imperial Guptas, I was formerly under the impression that it was the Gauḍas who ousted Gupta rule from Bihar although they were soon driven out of that area by the Maukharis. It was supposed that Śaśāṅka's rule over the Shahabad District as a viceroy of the contemporary Gauḍa monarch during the earlier part of his life preceded the Maukhari occupation of Bihar. With the possibility of the continuation of the hold of the Guptas over Bengal and Orissa for sometime after their loss of Bihar, now suggested by epigraphic evidence, the above position seems to be untenable. It is difficult to believe that the Guptas continued to rule in the homeland of the Gauḍas even after the latter had occupied Bihar.

2. *Political History of Ancient India*, 1950 ed., pp. 626 ff.

3. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 495.

4. Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 337 ff.

5. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 351 ff.; Bhandarkar's List Nos. 1725, 1729.

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may suggest that he was a scion of the Imperial Gupta family. Of the other three, at least Jayanāga is known to have had his capital at Karṇasuvarṇa, well known as the capital of the Gauḍa kingdom at the beginning of the seventh century. It is very probable that the three rulers, viz. Gopachandra, Samāchāradeva and Jayanāga, belonged to the Gauḍa clan and that it was the Gauḍas who ousted the Imperial Gupta rule from North Bengal sometime after 543 A.D.[1] There is however no reason to believe that the Guptas were overthrown from Bihar by the Maukharis and from Bengal by the Gauḍas exactly at the same time, that is, about 550 or 551 A.D., the date suggested by Jinasena's *Harivaṁśa*. There is some evidence now to show that the final overthrow of the Imperial Guptas from Bengal may have taken place at a later date.

According to the recently published Sumandala copper plate inscription, Gupta suzerainty was acknowledged in the Ganjam region of Orissa as late as the Gupta year 250=569 A.D.[2] It is therefore not impossible to think that the Imperial Guptas succeeded in maintaining their hold on both Bengal and Orissa, however precariously, till 569 A.D. After the loss of Bihar, they may have succeeded in retaining their control over Orissa from some base in Bengal. In this connection, another Jaina tradition regarding the duration of Gupta rule appears to throw some welcome light.

The Jaina work *Tiloya-paṇṇatti (Triloka-prajñapti)* by Jadi-Vasaha (Yati-Vṛishabha) was published sometime ago by Professors Hiralal Jain and A. N. Upadhye. Stanza 1608 of this work has the following tradition regarding the duration of Gupta rule:—

tato Guttā tāṇaṁ rajje doṇi sayāṇi igitīsā.

This tradition is the same as that recorded by Jinasena and says that the Guptas ruled for 231 years. But there is a different tradition on the same subject recorded elsewhere in the work. In Stanzas 1503-4 we have the following in regard to the rule of the Śakas and the Guptas.

jādo ya Saga-ṇariṁdo rajjaṁ vaṁsassa du-saya-bādalā
doṇi sadā paṇavaṇṇā Guttāṇaṁ.....

According to this tradition the Śakas ruled for 242 years and the Guptas for 255 years. It has been rightly suggested by a recent writer[3]

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1. Gauḍa occupation of North Bengal seems to be suggested by the *Ārya-mañjus'rī-mūlakalpa* tradition regarding S'as'āṅka's association with the city of Pauṇḍra or Pauṇḍra-vardhana See K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 50.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79-85.
3. *Jonrnal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. III, No. 3, March, 1954, pp. 296-97.

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that the statement about the Śaka rule lasting for 242 years is based on the fact that the year 242 of the Śaka era corresponded to year 1 of the era of the Imperial Guptas. But more interesting is the other statement about the rule of the Guptas lasting for 255 years. As the two traditions, viz., the one giving the duration of Gupta rule as 231 years and the other speaking of 255 years in place of 231, are found in the same work and are not separated by a wide gap, it is permissible to think that the author had in view two altogether different traditions on the same subject. It appears that the first of the two traditions relates to the extirpation of Gupta rule from their home province in Bihar and the U.P. and the second refers to the final overthrow of the Guptas from Bengal and Orissa. If such was the case, the first event took place about 550 A.D. and the second about 574 A.D.

We have seen how the evidence of the Maukhari inscriptions may point to the overthrow of the Guptas from Bihar before 554 A.D. That the suzerainty of the Imperial Guptas was ousted from Orissa about 574 A.D. seems also to be supported by epigraphic evidence. The Soro plate of S'ambhuyaśas, dated in the Gupta year 260=579 A.D. is the earliest post-Gupta record pointing to the independence of Orissa from the yoke of the Guptas.[1] It is of course not definitely known whether the independent rule of the Gauḍas in Bengal also started from 574 A.D. But if it did, as it is not impossible to think in the light of the evidence at our disposal, we have to assign the rule of Gopachandra, Samāchāradeva and Jayanāga about the last quarter of the sixth century.

With the decline of Gupta power in Orissa, the Mānas of Balasore region and the Vigrahas of Gañjam area were fighting for the supremacy over that country. This struggle of the Orissan powers among themselves gave an opportunity to the Gauḍas of Bengal to extend their suzerainty over Orissa during the reign of Śaśāṅka (circa 600–25 A.D.) or his immediate predecessor.[2] The conquest of Orissa by the Gauḍas may have been inspired by their feeling that they were the political successors of the Imperial Guptas in Eastern India.

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1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 201 ff.; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 83-84. It appears that, with the overthrow of the Guptas from Bengal, their Orissan feudatories became independent automatically.

2. *Ibid.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 328 ff.

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II

ESSAYS

PRESENTED TO

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR

THE "Essays Presented to Sir Jadunath Sarkar" is the second of the two Commemoration Volumes published in honour of Sir J. N. Sarkar. It contains thirty-eight selected essays forming a tribute paid by scholars from India and abroad to the greatest present-day historian of India. Sir J. N. Sarkar has, over the last half a century, rendered illustrious and exemplary service to his motherland by exploring her past. The galaxy of writers whose names adorn the pages of this volume contains lumanaries like Padma Bhushan Nilkanta Sastri, Bimal Churn Law, Rev. H. Heras and D. C. Sircar. All the articles are excellent pieces of research. They either break entirely fresh ground or illuminate the dark corners of the history of India. A few of them are, however, of purely general interest. A brief summary of its contents has been prefixed to each essay in order to enable the reader to form in advance an idea of the subject matter.

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